

THE MILITANT

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Coal miners in Utah stand firm on picket line

BY MARCO ANTONIO RIVERA

HUNTINGTON, Utah—A dozen coal miners picketed CW Mining's Co-Op mine here November 11 as part of their fight to organize a union there.

The workers chanted in the face of Mark Reynolds, the brother of CW Mining manager Charles Reynolds, as he repeatedly demanded that they leave.

When Reynolds predicted that the United Mine Workers (UMWA) would abandon the struggle, one woman miner pointed emphatically at a picket sign reading, "We have the support of the UMWA."

"Aquí estamos y aquí nos quedamos, y si nos sacan nos regresamos" (We are here and we are staying, and if they throw us out, we will return) the miners, mostly

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U.S. Congress authorizes sanctions against Syria

BY SAM MANUEL

WASHINGTON, D.C.—The U.S. Senate overwhelmingly approved a measure here November 11 that gives the White House discretion to impose economic and political sanctions against Syria. The bill also provides a pretext for military action, should Washington decide to do so. The so-called Syrian Accountability and Lebanese Sovereignty Act passed with nearly unanimous bipartisan support by a vote of 89-4. In October a similar measure was approved by the House of Representatives 398-4.

The bill calls for sanctions to be imposed unless Syria meets a series of demands. These include preventing armed groups opposed to the U.S. occupation of Iraq from entering into that country from Syria, shutting down the offices of Palestinian groups in Syria Washington deems "terrorist," withdrawal of Syrian forces from

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U.S. occupiers in Iraq launch 'Iron Hammer'

No 'exit plan' short of smashing resistance, White House says



Getty Images/Joe Raedle

A U.S. soldier and a member of Iraqi Civil Defense Corp. arrest man at checkpoint outside al Uja, central Iraq, November 14. Occupying forces have cordoned off town, near Tikrit, a site of many attacks on U.S. troops.

BY PATRICK O'NEILL

In face of attacks on U.S. forces occupying Iraq that have recently averaged 30 per day, the U.S. military launched intensified air and ground raids in Baghdad and cities in central Iraq aimed at destroying remnants of the Saddam Hussein regime and others resisting the occupation.

The U.S. Army launched Operation Iron Hammer November 12. Within a few days, U.S. troops had killed dozens of Iraqis—including seven suspected of launching a rocket attack on a U.S. military base near Tikrit, detained dozens of others, and destroyed a dye factory and other buildings in Baghdad.

"What you are seeing...are stepped up offensive operations to push terrorists out of their lairs," said Army spokesperson Lt. Col. George Krivo. The town of Uja near Tikrit is one focus of such operations. U.S. forces have completely ringed it with razor wire.

The same week Paul Bremer, the U.S. civilian administrator in Iraq, was summoned to the White House for talks. Following the visit, the Bush administration announced that Washington will pursue the formation of a provisional government in Iraq by next summer, which is supposed to take more responsibility for running the country than the current U.S.-appointed Iraqi Governing Council. That step would be the occasion for attempting to paint up the

U.S. occupation as a "military presence," which would remain there "by invitation" for years.

After these announcements, and suggestions a week earlier by U.S. secretary of defense Donald Rumsfeld that Washington may reduce the number of its troops in Iraq by next May, several reports in the U.S. media alleged that these moves amounted to an "exit strategy" by the Bush administration. One such article in the November 16 *New York Times*, for example, was titled: "America's Gamble: A Quick Exit Plan for Iraq."

U.S. government officials, however, made it clear they have no intention of directing the country's affairs in any way other than through large numbers of troops, regardless of the form. "There is no decision to pull out early," said Rumsfeld while visiting troops at the Anderson Air Force Base in Guam, on his way to Tokyo, November 14. "Indeed, quite to the contrary. The president has made the statement that we'll stay there as long as is necessary to see that the country is put on a path towards the key things that he outlined."

Rumsfeld may have been referring to the November 6 speech by U.S. president George Bush to the National Endowment for Democracy, in which Bush invoked freedom and democracy to rationalize U.S. imperialism's designs on the

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6,000 rally to back California grocery strikers

BY JAMES VINCENT

SAN PEDRO, California—In the largest display so far of union solidarity with the grocery strike in southern California, thousands of workers picketed and rallied here November 10 in front of an Albertsons supermarket.

"We support this strike 100 percent. We know what it is like to be locked out," said Leonard Trujillo, a member of the Interna-

tional Longshore and Warehouse Union (ILWU).

The United Food and Commercial Workers union reported that 6,000 participated in the protest. A major highway and streets near the picket site were backed up for miles.

About a dozen buses brought hundreds of striking and locked-out workers from Albertsons, Vons, and Ralphs stores in the region.

A large number of the demonstrators were ILWU members. "Not much work is being done on the docks tonight," Trujillo said. Last year West Coast dockworkers were involved in a major contract fight, facing an employer lockout as well as federal government intervention through the antilabor Taft-Hartley Act.

Also participating in the solidarity rally were dozens of members of the Service Employees International Union (SEIU), American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME), and Hotel Employees Restaurant Employees (HERE). There were oil workers, iron workers, teachers, Teamsters, and communication workers. "I backed the longshore people last year during their lockout," said Johnny O'Kane, a construction worker and member of Ironworkers Local 433. "I'll back labor wherever they need it because we could be next in line."

A 20-foot-high inflated rat stood next to the stage where a rally was held following the mass picketing. Officials from the UFCW, ILWU, Los Angeles County



Regina Davis, a grocery clerk, and others picket Albertsons store in Lomita, California, October 15.

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to wives of two of the
Cuban Five, for fourth time 10**Save the dates!****December 13–14 New York City****Saturday, December 13: RED SATURDAY**

A full day of work to begin building the new national headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party, an expanded New York Pathfinder bookstore, and offices of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*—all in the same location.

Sunday, December 14: PUBLIC MEETING**The Bipartisan War Party, Working-Class Resistance,
and Building the Communist Movement**

Speakers include Jack Barnes, SWP national secretary, and Mary-Alice Waters, president of Pathfinder Press. Others will report on efforts to upgrade and expand Pathfinder bookstores in London and Toronto; renovate the national center in London of the Communist League in the United Kingdom; and strengthen the regional center in Toronto of the Communist League in Canada. An early afternoon meeting.

Time and location to be announced. See upcoming issues of the 'Militant.'

Sponsored by the Socialist Workers Party National Committee and Young Socialists.

For further information call 212-695-7358 or see directory on page 8.

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Tyson strikers determined to resist concessions

BY MAURICE WILSON

JEFFERSON, Wisconsin—About 250 people rallied at the plant gate of Tyson Foods here November 7 in support of meat packers on strike against the food giant. The members of United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) Local 538 have been on the picket line for eight months and remain determined to resist the bosses' concession demands.

"Are you willing to accept frozen wages for four years?" asked UFCW Local 538 president Mike Rice, who chaired the rally and town hall meeting the union held earlier that day. The crowd answered a resounding "No!"

"Are you willing to tell Tyson we appreciate the support from the labor movement?" said Rice. The strikers responded, "Yes!"

One of the speakers at the demonstration

was Israel Espinosa, a 21-year-old member of Service Employees International Union Local 1, who walked off the job October 10 against T&J Meat Packing outside Chicago. "We are on strike fighting for the same thing as you are," he stated. "We are all workers, whether Latino, African American, or other people and we need to unite." Espinosa told rally participants that the "bosses give us low wages and no benefits." He voiced support for the strikers at Tyson and urged them to visit the picket line at T&J Meat Packing.

Rice thanked Espinosa for coming to Jefferson and remarked, "We will send some people to Chicago to support you."

The town hall meeting held earlier, which included local politicians and union officials, featured AFL-CIO president John Sweeney. The labor federation president said he had sent a letter to all national union of-

ficers and local union officials urging support for the Tyson strikers, including "raising strike funds" and making donations to Local 538's Adopt-A-Family program.

Local 538 has organized several solidarity rallies in Jefferson since the meat packers walked out February 28. They rejected the bosses' proposals to cut hourly rates for new-hires from \$11.09 to \$9.00 and freeze pay for others over a four-year period. The employers are also demanding the elimination of pensions for new-hires and a freeze on benefits for the others, a hike in health-care premiums by as much as \$40 a week, as well as other takebacks.

"When you have gatherings like this it boosts morale," said striker Chuck Moehling. "We didn't expect to be out this long. Now it's more of a mental thing. We need to lean on each other more. It's going into Christmas and the new year. But I'm like everyone else, I'm not going back into that plant for what they're offering. This is about the future of the meatpacking industry and future employees."

Maurice Wilson is a meat packer in Chicago.



UFCW Local 538

UFCW Local 538 members on strike against Tyson rally September 28 in Jefferson, Wisconsin.

U.S. coal giant demands takebacks

BY JAY RESSLER

PITTSBURGH—Hundreds of coal miners, members of the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA), were joined by dozens of union steelworkers in a march and rally in Ashland, Kentucky, November 6 at the offices of Horizon Natural Resources protesting the company's drive to use federal bankruptcy proceedings to demand sweeping concessions from the union.

Horizon, the fourth-largest coal producer in the United States, filed for bankruptcy in November 2002. The company owns 42 mines, in Kentucky, West Virginia, Illinois, Indiana, and Colorado.

According to a statement released by the UMWA, the union "now believes that Horizon will ask the bankruptcy judge to reject outright the terms and conditions of the contract now in place, which under current law is a possibility."

Horizon is seeking to cut health benefits along with other rollbacks that the union says would affect 1,000 active miners and 3,400 retired miners in five states. The proposal includes cuts to the benefits of UMWA retirees covered under the 1992 Coal Act, a federal statute that provides health and pension guarantees to miners.

"Horizon and the bankruptcy courts have no legal right to cut Coal Act retirees' benefits," said union president Cecil Roberts.

"Congress established these benefits and... Horizon is not going to take them away."

UMWA Local 5890 president Darrell Keyes, who works at Horizon's Starfire Mine near Hazard, Kentucky, said mining families who used to pay nothing for health insurance would have to pay \$178 a month, pay 30 percent of the costs, and face large deductibles, including on prescriptions. Keyes, who has worked at the mine for some 20 years, said he participated in the march along with 17 other members of his local to "counter the company's crap—the steps it's taking to gut the union contract."

According to *The Southern*, other Horizon takeback demands include elimination of 22 vacation days; 24 days' less pay; a wage freeze for the duration of the six-year contract; elimination of the union's role in overseeing sick and accident benefits; straight time pay for Saturday, Sunday, and holiday work; and a no-strike clause.

"One thing is certain: Nobody can work under the contract they proposed," said Jerry Don Walker, a miner who works for Horizon subsidiary Zeigler. "That's like going back to the 1920s, where you have no days off and all past practice and customs is gone."

The company will take its reorganization plan to court in Lexington, Kentucky, December 2. The union is planning another rally on that date.

Pennsylvania T.J. Maxx fires 274 workers after probe from 'la migra'

BY JANET POST

HAZLETON, Pennsylvania—T.J. Maxx warehouse and distribution center in Pittston, Pennsylvania, fired 274 workers in October who were on a list of workers without proper documentation given them by the immigration police. Their union—UNITE Local 295—says some of the fired workers and others who remain employed are being profiled and harassed by the local police.

The retailer, which is among the largest in the United States employing 41,500 workers in over 700 stores, reported that a similar probe is underway at its distribution center in Evansville, Indiana, where some 1,700 workers are employed.

According to the *Scranton Times*, the Pittston warehouse fired the workers—half of the workforce—after the Bureau of Immigration and Customs Enforcement (BICE) investigated the center "at the behest of local officials" and listed workers it claimed had "fraudulent or counterfeit documents."

"The confirmation of illegal aliens among the workforce at the huge distribution center caps weeks of complaints by township officials that illegal workers have taken jobs away from local residents and driven down the starting pay to \$6.50 an hour," wrote the *Wilkes-Barre Times Leader*.

The newly opened 105-acre facility plans to hire 1,200 workers in the next three years. Township supervisors say T.J. Maxx promised starting wages of \$8-\$10 an hour. State and local property taxes were waived for the first 10 years, a move now opposed by many officials, including Anthony Attardo,

Pittston Township Supervisor, who openly expresses his anti-immigrant views.

"People within (the center) tell me there are only 70 Americans (working there)," Attardo said, according to the *Scranton Times*. "Asked to define Americans, he said 'some-one born in the United States,' and added, 'The rest are foreigners.'"

Attardo said he favored "jobs that pay a fair wage to local native-born Northeastern Pennsylvanians."

"Since when have they been concerned with better wages?" union representative Marion Nalaschi told *Militant* reporters.

On October 20, at a meeting of the Pittston Township supervisors, UNITE representatives accused the township police of profiling the workers and stopping them to ask for their green cards. "They don't just ask for their license, registration, and insurance," Nalaschi told the meeting, "They're asking for green cards."

Since the meeting, Nalaschi reported that another worker was stopped and asked for her green card. "She told the policeman that she was from Puerto Rico and was just as much a citizen as he was," Nalaschi said. "The policeman told this worker that she was 'getting cocky' and gave her a ticket which she intends to fight."

The October 30 *Wilkes-Barre Times Leader* printed a letter, titled "Contributions of Local Immigrants Should Be Source of Local Pride," signed by individuals representing UNITE, Catholic Social Services, and several other religious institutions and colleges.

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THE MILITANT

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U.S. Supreme Court to hear cases of Guantánamo inmates

BY SAM MANUEL

Over the objections of the Bush administration, the U.S. Supreme Court decided November 10 to hear two cases filed on behalf of 16 of the more than 600 individuals being held at the military prison camp at the U.S. Naval base in Guantánamo Bay, Cuba. Most of the prisoners were captured in Afghanistan and shipped to Guantánamo during the U.S.-led war against the Taliban regime. Some have been held for nearly two years without charges, or access to attorneys and family members. The conditions under which the prisoners are held are so restrictive that they are not even aware that lawsuits have been filed on their behalf.

The justices stated their intention to decide "whether United States courts lack jurisdiction to consider challenges to the legality of the detentions of foreign nationals captured abroad in connection with hostilities and incarcerated at the Guantánamo Naval Base" without reference to whether Guantánamo is or is not "outside the sovereign territory of the United States." Reflecting the tension between the administration and the Supreme Court, U.S. solicitor general Theodore Olson had admonished the court that the determination of sovereignty over a particular territory is "not a question on which a court may second-guess the political branches."

The suits ask the court to order the government to inform the prisoners of any charges against them, allow them to meet with lawyers and family members, and to obtain "access to an impartial tribunal to review whether any basis exists for their continued detentions." The two appeals the court accepted were filed on behalf of 12 Kuwaitis in one group, and two Australians and two British citizens in the other.

Civil liberties attorneys who filed the suits also asked the court to decide whether the prisoners have the right to make use of the U.S. legal system to challenge their imprisonment. The Bush administration has maintained that the prisoners are "enemy combatants" and therefore not entitled to any of the legal protections due prisoners of war. In arguing against their appeal to the court, Olson insisted that the determination of the detainees' status was strictly the prerogative of the administration and not the business of the federal courts.

Olson countered that lower courts had acted correctly earlier in denying a similar lawsuit, basing their decision on a 1950 ruling that German prisoners captured in World War II in China and held outside U.S. territory had no right to use the federal courts to challenge their detention or charges against them. Attorneys for the Center for Constitutional Rights (CCR), one of the groups filing the lawsuits, noted in their brief that in this case the United States "alone exercises power at Guantánamo Bay," and that for jurisdictional purposes it should be treated as part of the United States.

The 45-square-mile area in southeastern Cuba where the U.S. base is located was seized by Washington in the Span-

ish-American War. The U.S. Navy has continued to occupy the area based on an agreement signed by the Cuban government at that time. CCR attorneys argue that the agreement granted Washington many of the attributes of sovereignty over the area and uses the phrase "complete jurisdiction and control." Since the 1959 revolution that toppled the U.S.-backed dictatorship of Fulgencio Batista, the Cuban government has considered the agreement null and void and the continued presence of the U.S. base at Guantánamo as an illegal occupation of Cuban territory. Washington has maintained its base there despite the will of the Cuban people.

The prisoners in Guantánamo are from more than 40 countries. Governments in Europe, Australia, and the Middle East have been under pressure from family members and civil liberties groups to press Washington regarding their conditions of incarceration. On November 7 Paris filed a formal inquiry into the detention of six French citizens held at the military camp. And in a rare break with Washington, Spain's foreign minister welcomed the Supreme Court decision, calling the conditions under which the prisoners are held "a major error by the United States."

Inmates were initially held in wire cages

at Camp X-Ray, an open-air, makeshift prison. In April they were moved to a more permanent jail called Camp Delta, consisting of rows of 8 by 6 foot steel cells cut from shipping containers. Each cell is fitted with a metal bed welded to the floor, a wash basin, and through-the-floor toilet. Most of the prisoners are held in their cells for at least 23 hours a day, according to the CCR. They are shackled hand and foot before being shuffled to latrines. The Pentagon has acknowledged 32 attempted suicides since January 2002.

The Bush administration has picked the first six detainees to be tried before military tribunals, including David Hicks, an Australian citizen whose name is among those for whom the lawsuit has been filed. In May, the U.S. military officer in charge of Camp Delta announced plans to conduct trials and executions on site. He also said plans under consideration included the building of a permanent jail with an execution chamber at Guantánamo.



A newly arrived prisoner is taken from showers in U.S. prison camp Guantánamo Bay, Cuba, February 2002.

In April military officials admitted that among the prisoners are at least three boys between the ages of 13 and 15. The youths were detained and interrogated under similar conditions as the adult prisoners—and have been cynically labeled by their captors as "juvenile enemy combatants."

U.S. gov't to begin trials of Cuba travelers

BY PAUL PEDERSON

The U.S. government has announced that it is about to begin, for the first time, judicial proceedings against U.S. citizens accused of traveling to Cuba without state authorization.

"We're really going to be stepping up enforcement," Taylor Griffin, a spokesperson for the U.S. Treasury department, told the November 8 Orlando *Sun-Sentinel*.

The Office of Foreign Assets Control, a branch of the U.S. Treasury Department assigned to enforce the law that bans U.S. citizens from traveling to the Caribbean island without a license, has begun processing 50 cases of unlicensed travel. To do this the office, which previously had no judges, borrowed several judges from the Justice Department and the Federal Mine Safety and Health Review Commission to begin prosecuting the cases.

"We're for independence, we're for being free to travel," Michael McCarthy, 56, told the *Sun Sentinel*. The Michigan man and his wife, Ande, were slapped with a \$15,000 fine for violating the Trading With the Enemy Act by spending about \$750 on a one-week visit to Cuba in 2001. The couple has appealed the fine.

According to Nancy Chang, a lawyer with the Center for Constitutional Rights, two of her clients have received notices from the department and could face hearings early next year.

About 160,000 people traveled to Cuba last year using Treasury Department licenses, according to a BBC News report. About half of these are Cubans visiting family on the island. Licenses are also available through educational institutions, and for journalists and a range of religious organizations. Earlier this year the Bush administration announced it would restrict licenses for "people-to-people" exchanges, under which a host of groups have organized educational trips.

The Cuban government estimates that at least 30,000 people from the United States visited the island in 2002 without using licenses by traveling through a third country. Of these, a small percentage is targeted by the Treasury Department with letters threatening fines and even jail time.

In the face of this intimidation, many travelers plea-bargain and settle by paying a fine. Others appeal and are placed on the list for an administrative hearing. By June 2002, the backlog of these appeals had topped 2,000 cases and many more U.S. residents have been targeted since.

A wide range of organizations and individuals could be required to come before the administrative judge for exercising their right to travel. The U.S.-Cuba Labor Exchange, a group that facilitates exchanges between U.S. and Cuban trade unionists, for example, is among those that have received threatening letters from the Treasury Department. The letter that group received demanded names and information about each person who traveled to Cuba with their organization and threatened fines of up to \$55,000 for each violation.

"This is a violation of our constitutional right to pursue knowledge and to have a free

exchange of ideas with the Cuban people," said Ignacio Meneses, the national coordinator of the U.S.-Cuba Labor Exchange. "No other people of the world are banned from traveling to Cuba by their government."

At the same time, an amendment introduced last month with much fanfare as part of a bill in the U.S. Congress that would have ended Washington's 40-year travel restrictions to Cuba was dropped by a congressional committee before the bill was sent to U.S. president George Bush for his signature. Both houses of Congress had earlier approved the amendment, but Bush had declared he would veto any such bill. The backers of the legislation asserted that pressure from the Bush administration was behind their decision not to challenge the policy of restricting travel to Cuba, which has been sustained by the past eight administrations—Democratic and Republican alike.

Syria sanctions approved

Continued from front page

Lebanon, and halting any development of medium- and long-range missile systems. Washington has also charged that Damascus is developing chemical and biological weapons.

"We're very concerned about the foreign killers that are coming in [Iraq] through Syria," said U.S. deputy secretary of defense Paul Wolfowitz in a November 13 interview with the Cleveland TV station WEWS. "Clearly we want the Syrians to do everything they can to shut down that kind of flow."

The measure gives U.S. president George Bush the option of imposing at least two of six sanctions against Damascus: banning exports to Syria, except food and medicine; banning U.S. business investment; restrictions on Syrian diplomats in the United States; banning Syrian aircraft from entering U.S. airspace; reducing diplomatic contacts; and freezing Syrian assets.

The Syrian government said it remained open to dialogue with Washington despite the threat of sanctions, according to Reuters, stating sanctions would cause little economic harm. Trade between the United States and Syria is a modest \$300 million a year. ExxonMobil has joint ventures with Syrian firms for production and sale of petroleum products, and two U.S. companies have contracts for oil exploration in that country.

According to the Syrian news agency SANA, Arab League secretary general Amr Mussa condemned the Senate action saying sanctions should instead be imposed on Tel Aviv for its "long-term occupation of Arab nations' lands, state sponsored terrorism,

[and] genocide against the Palestinian nation."

Senate Democratic leader Thomas Daschle said the time to "sit back and hope for Syria to change course has passed." Fellow Democrat Barbara Boxer added, "We cannot have relationships with Syria and close our eyes to the truth...that they are in fact supporting terrorism in ways that are very clear."

Sen. Robert Byrd, Democrat from West Virginia, and Sen. Arlen Specter, Republican from Pennsylvania, were among those opposing the measure. Specter argued that the bill would complicate U.S.-Syrian relations in light of cooperation by Damascus in the "war on terrorism" and in providing information on al Qaeda.

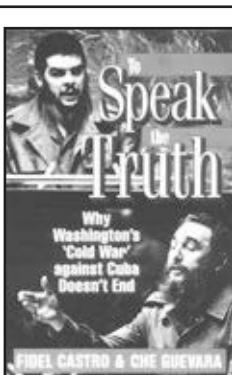
Until early October, the White House had used its influence to prevent the measure from reaching the floor of Congress. Sen. Richard Lugar, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, requested the bill be modified to allow the president to waive sanctions in the interests of "national security," which was included in the final version of the bill.

The U.S. State Department already includes Syria on its list of "terrorist states," which automatically triggers a series of sanctions. Syria has been on that list since the 1970s, even though the two governments have full diplomatic relations.

Bush ended his opposition to additional punitive measures against Syria in October, after accusing Damascus of ignoring U.S. requests to crack down on Palestinian and Lebanese groups functioning in its territory. He has indicated he will sign the bill into law.

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'Iron Hammer'

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Middle East. After a meeting with Italy's president, Carlo Azeglio Ciampi, at the White House the same day, Bush emphasized that Washington will maintain its military strength in Iraq regardless of the rising number of casualties by U.S. and allied troops. "We will stay there until the job is done," he told reporters. The meeting followed the deaths of 19 Italian carabinieri, or paramilitary police, and at least 12 others in a November 12 suicide bombing in Nasiriyah, 185 miles southeast of Baghdad.

In a November 11 Veterans Day speech, Bush claimed the violence against the occupiers is concentrated in an area "known as the Baathist triangle, the home area of Saddam Hussein and most of his associates."

Nearly 70 U.S. and allied troops were killed the first half of November. This included 17 GIs who died when two U.S. Army UH-60 Black Hawk helicopters collided in midair November 15 and crashed into a residential neighborhood in the northern city of Mosul—the deadliest single incident for U.S. forces since the March 20 invasion of Iraq. Reuters quoted a U.S. officer at the scene saying that a rocket-propelled grenade had hit one of the helicopters. Total U.S. casualties in Iraq as of mid-November topped 410. Of these, 139 died during the U.S.-led invasion and 271 since Bush declared major combat over on May 1.

The Mosul incident took place as U.S. airpower has been hurled back into the balance as a major part of combat operations. On November 13, Air Force F-16 jets dropped satellite-guided bombs on a building at Husayba, near the border with Syria. U.S. officers said that it was a munitions storage area and a staging post for attacks. Washington has repeatedly claimed that opponents of the occupation are infiltrating into Iraq from Syria and Iran.

The same week, the Pentagon dispatched 200–300 officers and other personnel to the Qatar headquarters of its Central Command (Centcom) to join 100 staff already there. According to a November 14 BBC News report, "The Pentagon is playing down the move but it will help U.S. troops respond quicker to developments in Iraq." The Pentagon built and outfitted the Qatar Centcom station during the lead-up to the invasion of Iraq. The base includes barracks for up to 10,000 soldiers and some 40 acres of warehouses for military vehicles and equipment. Centcom, which has its central headquarters in Tampa, Florida, is responsible for U.S. military operations in the Middle East, the Horn of Africa, south and central Asia, and the northern Red Sea.

Rome whips up patriotic fervor

The deaths of the 19 Italian troops became a political weapon for Rome in its drive to build support for the U.S.-led occupation and its own military intervention. Italy's prime minister Silvio Berlusconi was helped by the opposition parties. An article in the November 14 *Independent*, a British daily, reported that in the wake of the Nasiriyah bombing, "the center-left opposition discovered restraint, declining to make political capital out of the tragedy.... Rather than a raucous demand for withdrawal, a snap opinion poll for *La Repubblica* newspaper, carried out after the massacre, indicated that most Italians were in favor of staying in Iraq."

The Japanese government, meanwhile, announced that it had suspended plans to deploy up to 1,000 troops in Iraq by the end of this year. Reaffirming Tokyo's pledge of \$5 billion in grants and loans for the occupation, Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi said that his administration would be "closely watching the situation."

Japanese government officials reaffirmed their decision during Rumsfeld's November 14–16 visit to Tokyo. The previous day, while visiting U.S. troops at the Andersen Air Force base on the U.S. colony of Guam in the Pacific, Rumsfeld said the fortified island plays a big part in the ongoing reconfiguration of the U.S. armed forces. Over the past year, U.S. firepower on Guam has been boosted with the arrival of two attack submarines and a fleet of nuclear-capable B-52 and B-1 bombers—all within striking distance of north Korea.

For most of the post-World War II period, said Rumsfeld, the U.S. military was built around "a large force structure in Europe that was pretty much a static defense to de-

fend against the Soviet Union, which doesn't exist today." In the changed situation, he said, the U.S. warmakers aim to develop "a dynamic capability of being able to move with some agility in hours and days rather than weeks and months and years." Guam is "a valuable part of that footprint," he said, in a region with "nearly 60 percent of the world's population [and]...six of the largest militaries on the face of the earth."

The government of south Korea, Rumsfeld's next port of call after Japan, has said that it will send 3,000 troops to Iraq early next year, in addition to the 700 noncombat soldiers they have already stationed there.

Reviewing the military contributions by U.S. and British allies, the *Wall Street Journal* reported November 14 that "about 128,000 U.S. troops are stationed in Iraq, along with about 25,000 soldiers from about 30 other countries. But outside of Britain and Poland, which police large sectors of Iraq, most of the other donating countries don't have the military capacity to operate a divisional command."

White House summons Bremer

Developments in Iraq were paralleled by a flurry of activity in Washington, as Paul Bremer was summoned to the White House. According to the November 11 *International Herald Tribune*, one U.S. official "spoke of growing friction between Mr. Bremer and Washington, particularly over Mr. Bremer's resistance to accelerating the transfer of control from Americans to Iraqis."

Bremer emerged from the talks with the announcement that his elaborate blueprint for drawing up an Iraqi constitution and organizing elections had been scrapped.

"As part of the new strategy," the *Washington Post* reported, "the United States is prepared to endorse some form of elections before a new constitution is written—reversing the order outlined in Bremer's seven-point plan—to ensure that a new governing body would have the legitimacy that the current 24-member [Iraqi Governing Council], handpicked by the Untied States, lacks."

The hollow-sounding pledges of "Iraqi



Patrick Baz/AFP/Getty Images
Iraqi police raid a Baghdad neighborhood November 13 in their largest-yet sweep. "The [Iraqi] police need an awful lot of work," said U.S. commander John Abizaid.

fication" became the occasion for a round of declarations of concern by capitalist politicians and editorial writers over the possible depletion or even withdrawal of U.S. troops—a step not proposed by a single government official.

While backing Bush's "lofty vision of creating an exemplary democracy in Iraq," a November 13 *New York Times* editorial said that "the Bush administration is in such a rush to bring American troops home that it has lost interest in laying the foundations for a stable democracy." The *Times* also called for Washington to "transfer political authority to a newly created United Nations administration.... Creating a UN administration for Iraq could also help attract more international peacekeeping troops to relieve America's overstrained forces."

An article in the same issue of the *Times* quoted expressions of concern from Republican senators John McCain and Lindsey Graham, and Sen. Joseph Biden and Rep. Rahm Emanuel—both Democrats. "It looks like they're laying the groundwork for a premature departure," Emanuel stated. "To announce withdrawals when the number of attacks and deaths of American military are going up is not reasonable or logical," McCain said.

Speaking November 11 on CBS TV's "Early Show," Rumsfeld responded to questions similar to those which McCain had raised earlier. "Every single [U.S.] military leader in Iraq answers that question yes; we do have a sufficient number of U.S. forces," he said. "The total number of security forces in Iraq is going up every day..

"Needless to say, if at any moment the military commanders indicated that they needed more U.S. troops, I would certainly recommend it to the president and we would increase the number of troops.... But the advice we're getting is just the opposite."

A couple of days later, Centcom commander John Abizaid boasted at a Pentagon news briefing that "there is no military threat in Iraq that can drive us out. We have the best-equipped, best-trained army in the world in position in the toughest areas that we have to deal with."

Abizaid also gave a hard-nosed assessment of the U.S.-assembled and trained Iraqi security forces, including soldiers, militia, and police. "We are not having problems recruiting these forces," he said, but they "are not as well trained as American and coalition forces yet. We are training them. The police, in particular, need an awful lot of work."

U.S. gov't uses IAEA report to pursue anti-Iran campaign

BY SAM MANUEL

WASHINGTON, D.C.—The U.S. government used the release of a new report by the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) to press its case that Tehran is in violation of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty.

"Iran has now acknowledged that it has been developing, for 18 years, a uranium centrifuge program, and, for 12 years, a laser enrichment program," said the report by the United Nations agency, released in early November, referring to technologies employed for making material that could be used in the manufacturing of nuclear weapons. "In that context Iran has admitted that it produced small amounts of LEU [low-enriched uranium], using both centrifuge and laser enrichment processes...and a small amount of plutonium."

The report also stated that there is no evidence so far that Tehran has sought to build a nuclear bomb, as asserted by the U.S. government. The IAEA document said, however, that because of the "past pattern of concealment, it will take some time before the agency is able to conclude that Iran's nuclear program is exclusively for peaceful purposes." IAEA head Mohammed ElBaradei said the agency would need "a particularly robust verification system," requiring "full transparency and openness on the part of Iran."

U.S. deputy undersecretary of state for arms control Richard Bolton called the agency's conclusion "impossible to believe," according to Reuters. Bolton added that the report confirms Washington's insistence that "the massive and covert Iranian efforts to acquire sensitive nuclear capabilities make sense only as a part of a nuclear weapons program."

A wide range of capitalist politicians and pundits in the United States made similar points. "It's dumbfounding that the IAEA, after saying that Iran for 18 years had a secret effort to enrich uranium and separate plutonium, would turn around and say there was no evidence of a nuclear weapons program," said Thomas Cochran, a senior scientist at the Natural Resources

Defense Council. "If that's not evidence, I don't know what is."

"Iran seems to have been caught at an early stage of a secret program," said an editorial in the November 12 *New York Times*. "But nobody can be sure whether this is the whole truth or whether Iran simply admitted what it thinks international inspectors already know."

The *Times* editors demanded Tehran come up with a lot more than what it has already offered to heed Washington's dictates. "Under intense international pressure, Iran has now agreed to open itself to more intrusive inspections and suspend its uranium enrichment program, at least temporarily. That is not good enough. Iran has no legitimate need to pursue either enrichment or reprocessing technologies and should forswear both approaches entirely."

Ali Akbar Salehi, Iran's representative to the IAEA, confirmed that Iranian laboratories had produced "a very small quantity of plutonium," but as "a secondary effect" of producing medicine for hospitals. The Iranian government has maintained its nuclear industry is for energy purposes only, but revealed it had not disclosed certain experiments.

The IAEA governing board is scheduled to meet November 20 to decide whether the Iranian government has violated the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), which Tehran has signed. An affirmative finding would mean the matter would automatically be placed on the UN Security Council agenda for discussion of possible sanctions.

"While Britain, Germany and France may argue that Iran's new co-operativeness should be rewarded, America is expected to call for Iran's breaches to the NPT to be reported to the United Nations Security Council," said the London-based *Economist* magazine.

Salehi warned that such a move could lead to "unpredictable consequences." He called on the governments of France, Germany, and Britain to stick by an agreement with Tehran they had announced in October to not back efforts by Washington to declare Iran in violation of the NPT. In

exchange, the Iranian government agreed to allow surprise UN inspections of its nuclear facilities and temporarily suspend its uranium enrichment program. Paris, Berlin, and Moscow were the chief architects of pressuring Tehran to take this step, hoping to derail the U.S. government's efforts. These governments have competing interests with Washington in Iran, including some lucrative investments.

According to an article in the November 12 *New York Times*, U.S. diplomats are feverishly negotiating for language that could be adopted by the November 20 IAEA meeting to keep up the pressure on Iran. "Let's face it. A resolution of non-compliance is not going to happen," an un-named U.S. diplomat told Reuters. "The question is, is there some fallback that the three European countries can live with."

Using imperial language, Bolton said if Tehran takes all the steps Washington demands, such as allowing unannounced inspections of all its nuclear facilities, this would be a "major advance toward its integration into civilized society."

In London, British foreign secretary Jack Straw said his government had "some differences of emphasis" with Washington on Tehran's nuclear record. "We should be reacting calmly to the latest report from the International Atomic Energy Agency," he told the BBC. Straw added that while Tehran had concealed nuclear activities in the past, the country had recently cooperated substantially.

In mid-October, Moscow suspended plans to start up a nuclear power plant in southern Tehran being built with Russian assistance. During a visit to Moscow just before the release of the IAEA report, Hassan Rowhani, head of Iran's Supreme National Security Council, announced that Tehran would send a letter to the IAEA confirming its agreement to allow surprise inspections of its nuclear facilities. Russian president Vladimir Putin said that as a result he saw "no obstacles to nuclear cooperation with Iran." Washington has been pressing Moscow for years to end its nuclear assistance to Tehran.

One week, 200 'Militant' subs to go: All out to make the goal!

BY PATRICK O'NEILL

The fight by workers at the Co-Op coal mine in Utah to win recognition of the mine workers union was foremost in the mind of a new *Militant* reader in Northeast Pennsylvania as he signed up for an introductory subscription recently, reported Betsy Farley November 16. "He works in a mine that's nonunion, like the Co-Op mine in Huntington," she said, and had bought a paper from a sales team at the mine portal where he works the previous weekend.

"He told us he wants to keep up with the Utah fight by reading the *Militant* every week," Farley said. The young miner also commented on the immigration cops' arrests of hundreds of immigrant workers at Wal-Mart. "It's not right; they should make them all legal," the miner said.

With the campaign nearing its end, participants are picking up the pace. In the past week, they sold 103 subscriptions to the *Militant*, cutting the overall deficit from 10

percent to 8 percent. If they continue with this approach of daily sales and determined follow-up, all three goals can be met.

Campaigners have to sell 200 *Militant* and 72 *Perspectiva Mundial* subscriptions to reach the international goals of 950 and 400 respectively. They need to fight especially hard to make the book goal of 500. The special deal of a 25 percent discount on one book with every sub has proven very attractive, and has frequently helped to persuade readers to subscribe. Maggie Trowe in Boston told the *Militant* that garment workers in a number of cities plan to contact new readers who did not purchase a book with their subscription to see if they want to take advantage of the offer.

Campaigners in Des Moines are on the verge of completing all their goals, and going over to aid the international effort, reported Edwin Fruit November 17. A steady rhythm of sales to meat packers and other workers, and weekly tables on university campuses, have all produced results. Through these ef-

orts, Fruit said, "We have seven new subscribers at Iowa State University in Ames. During the drive, interested students have given us their names and telephone numbers, and we have called them to let them know when we'll be back on campus." Iowa campaigners met success at a recent antiwar conference at Drake University too. "No one else at the conference brought newspapers and books, and we found a keen interest in our material," Fruit said. "Several students from the University of Northern Iowa in Cedar Falls bought subscriptions. They told us the campus paper they help distribute reprints *Militant* articles some times."

From New York, Mike Fitzsimmons described sales over three hours from a literature table in Brooklyn November 16. "We set up by a busy subway stop," he said. "One person after another stopped to discuss political developments. They had serious questions: 'What is socialism? What is it about Cuba and why do you carry so many titles by Che Guevara and Fidel Castro?'"

By the end of the day, the campaigners had sold two subscriptions to the *Militant*



**Militant/Ögmundur Jónsson
Selling *Militant* to construction workers
at dam project in Iceland (see page 12).**

and one to *Perspectiva Mundial*, along with a number of Pathfinder titles. "A few more tables like that over the next week, and we'll make our goal," said Fitzsimmons.

Next week's *Militant* will report the final results of the drive. Subscriptions and reports of book sales received by noon on Tuesday, November 25, will be counted toward the international goal. Go to it!

Militant/Perspectiva Mundial Fall Subscription Drive September 27–November 23: Week 7 of 8

Country	Militant		PM		Book		Sold
	Goal	Sold	%	Goal	Sold	Goal	
SWEDEN							
Gothenburg	10	9	90%	2	4	5	3
Stockholm	8	6	75%	5	7	5	5
SWEDEN Total	18	15	83%	7	11	10	8
NEW ZEALAND							
Auckland	15	12	80%	1	0	5	2
Christchurch	12	10	83%	1	1	6	3
N.Z. total	27	22	81%	2	1	11	5
UNITED STATES							
Utah	10	11	110%	10	9	8	3
Des Moines	25	27	108%	23	22	15	15
Western Col.	15	16	107%	10	6	8	5
Cleveland	15	16	107%	5	7	10	8
Houston	25	24	96%	10	11	20	18
Omaha*	*22	21	95%	38	32	15	12
Boston	40	38	95%	30	26	25	23
Washington	25	23	92%	12	11	11	6
Seattle	25	22	88%	6	2	10	6
Tucson	7	6	86%	2	1	0	0
Newark	55	47	85%	20	17	30	24
Tampa	20	17	85%	8	2	10	3
San Francisco	50	42	84%	20	12	40	13
Atlanta	40	33	83%	17	12	25	17
Chicago	40	32	80%	25	24	25	8
Detroit	25	20	80%	8	7	15	9
NE Pennsylvania	20	16	80%	8	2	10	4
Los Angeles	60	48	80%	30	20	35	13
New York	75	58	77%	35	29	40	33
Pittsburgh	25	18	72%	2	4	12	4
Philadelphia	30	21	70%	7	6	7	8
Twin Cities	45	26	58%	35	21	15	4
Birmingham	18	9	50%	3	2	5	8
Miami	42	20	48%	12	4	21	0
U.S. total	754	611	81%	376	289	408	244
ICELAND	15	12	80%	1	0	10	6
CANADA							
Vancouver	30	25	83%	5	4	15	6
Montreal	12	9	75%	6	6	15	9
Toronto	25	16	64%	5	2	15	4
CANADA Total	67	50	75%	16	12	45	19
UNITED KINGDOM							
Cent. Scotland	8	5	63%	0	0	4	4
London	25	16	64%	5	3	10	10
UK total	33	21	64%	5	3	10	14
AUSTRALIA							
30	19	63%	5	2	15	5	
Int'l totals	944	750	79%	412	318	509	295
Goal/Should be	950	831	87%	400	348	500	435
IN THE UNIONS							
Country	Militant	Sold	%	PM	Sold	Book	Sold
AUSTRALIA	AMIEU	4	1	25%		1	0
CANADA	UNITE	3	1	33%	4	1	4
	UFCW	10	0	0%	2	1	8
	Total	13	1	8%	2	2	12
ICELAND	Hlíf	1	1	100%		1	1
NEW ZEALAND	NDU	2	1	50%	0	1	0
	MWU	2	0	0%	0	1	0
	Total	4	1	25%	0	1	0
SWEDEN	LIVS	3	0	0%	2	1	3
UNITED STATES	UFCW	50	34	68%	75	60	30
	UMWA*	*24	11	46%	6	4	8
	UNITE	25	11	44%	22	12	12
	Total	99	56	57%	103	76	50
Raised Goal							

AMIEU—Australasian Meat Industry Employees' Union; Hlíf—General Workers Union in Hafnarfjörður; LIVS—Food Workers Union; MUA—Maritime Union of Australia; MWU—Meat Workers Union; NDU—National Distribution Union; UFCW—United Food and Commercial Workers; UMWA—United Mine Workers of America.

BY NANCY BOYASKO

CHARLESTON, West Virginia—"Morale is really good. We're holding the line and we're willing to fight for what we're asking for," said Terry Barker on the picket line. "Kroger didn't count on our resolve. That was their mistake."

Barker and about a dozen other strikers outside a Kroger supermarket on Highway 119 south of Charleston were optimistic about the outcome of their struggle. "We've been getting support from many of the customers who used to shop here," he said, "and from other unionists in the area." As he and others talked with the *Militant* one supporter drove up and made a contribution.

The workers are among 3,300 members of United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) Local 400 on strike against Kroger at more than 40 grocery stores in West Virginia, Ohio, and Kentucky since October 13.

One of the main issues in the fight is the giant supermarket chain's demand for cuts in health benefits.

"This company made \$562 million in the first half of this year," Barker said. Kroger is also asking for a cut in the contributions it makes to the pension fund, he said. "Our last journeyman meat cutter retired with a pension of \$900 a month, compared with \$2,500 a month that some unionists in the area have managed to win. And they want to cut that. As far as wages go, they're offering 50 cents an hour over four years and lump sum payments. And we've learned our lesson—we

don't want lump sum payments."

Barker said that in 1987 workers accepted a concession contract. "We took a wage cut of \$1.00 an hour, gave up a week's vacation, four personal days, Easter as a holiday, double time for Sunday work, and two cost-of-living raises. It took us 12 years to get the dollar back. And we still haven't got back the other things we gave up."

Picketing at the Kanawha City Kroger, Karen Tinsley, a shop steward with 24 years at Kroger, described the company's productivity drive and abuse of part-time workers. "This company has cut about 1,000 hours of work over the last year at this store alone," she said. "It took me 16 years to get on full time. Most of the workers here are part time."

"We extended our lines and we're going to keep doing it," said Jim Lowthers, president of UFCW Local 400. "This is an ongoing process due to the company's lack of response," he said, referring to workers at Kroger in several parts of the state who are under separate contracts. "We've watched the miners go out on strike like this for years," said Rowena Ballard, a worker with 17 years at the Kanawha City store. "Now we see why they did it. I guess you have to go through it yourself."

6,000 rally in California to back strike

Continued from front page

Federation of Labor, and other unions gave messages of support. Los Angeles mayor James Hahn and other local politicians also spoke.

The work stoppage began October 11 when 21,000 UFCW members at Vons went on strike. The following day, Ralphs and Albertsons locked out 49,000 union members. In all, 70,000 workers from more than 850 stores are on strike or locked out.

The job action began after grocery workers rejected by a 97 percent margin a takeback contract calling for deep cuts in medical and pension benefits as well as significantly lower wage and health benefits for new hires.

The rally coincided with the first day of talks with Peter Hurtgen, director of the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service. Hurtgen, who conducted three days of closed-door talks between the UFCW and the supermarket bosses, played a high-profile role last year as a "mediator" in the confrontation between the ILWU and the longshore bosses. The 10-day lockout ended when President Bush used the antilabor Taft-Hartley Act against the 10,500 dock workers.

On October 31 picket lines were pulled at all Ralphs grocery stores in a move to shore up support for the union. Union officials said they did so to ease the difficulties for shoppers, many of whom live in areas where there are few alternatives to Ralphs, Vons, and Albertsons, which in some areas monopolize more than 90 percent of the market. The union gave two other reasons: the impact of the ongoing Los Angeles transit strike, which has made it more difficult for people without cars to shop, and the devastating wildfires that destroyed 2,600 homes and killed about 20 people in the region surrounding the metropolitan area.

"Our picket lines are bigger at Vons and Albertsons now," said Craig Bague, a picket captain from a Vons store in Pasadena. "Having Ralphs workers coming

over has been great. Morale continues to be high and support from customers remains pretty solid."

Pickets have faced some violent attacks. Strikers in Laguna Niguel were attacked November 9 outside an Albertsons store by a half-dozen bat-wielding teenagers, one of whom punched a striker. Two of the attackers were arrested. On the same day in Palm Springs, four people were arrested after firing three rounds from a gun at striking workers in front of a Vons store. Police found two handguns, extra ammunition, two large knives, and metal pipes on them.

Utah miners stand firm on picket line

Continued from front page

from Mexico, chanted in Spanish.

The workers chanted in the face of Mark Reynolds, the brother of C.W. Mining manager Charles Reynolds, as he repeatedly demanded that they leave. When Reynolds predicted that the United Mine Workers (UMWA) would abandon the struggle, one woman miner pointed emphatically at a picket sign reading, "We have the support of the UMWA."

The Co-Op miners on the picket line said that solid backing from the UMWA, other working people and unionists, and a number of students and others in the region has picked up their spirits. They are now organizing to extend solidarity and up the pressure on the company to give them their jobs back and recognize the UMWA as their union.

In the latest development, miner William Estrada will join UMWA international representative Roy Hernandez at a meeting of the Board of the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) in Knoxville, Tennessee. The unionists plan to call on the authority to halt any plans to purchase CW Mining coal until the dispute is resolved. Estrada explained that this is part of a broader UMWA strategy to "pressure the power plants, many of which are organized by the Steelworkers Union, to stop purchasing coal from TVA if the company does not cease doing business with CW Mining."

In another development, supporters of the Co-Op struggle in Salt Lake City have established a solidarity committee to publicize the fight and gather donations of funds and food for the miners and their families.

On this particular morning—typically cold and foggy—the workers' mood was upbeat and resilient. Earlier, upwards of 25 miners had cleaned up their picket trailer and painted signs with slogans that included, "We demand dignity and respect from the Kingstons," and "Co-Op miners on strike, *y qué?*"—roughly translated as "you got a problem with that?" C.W. Mining is owned by the Kingston family.

Reynolds's response to the chants was to get on his cell phone to the Sheriff's Department and demand that the Emery County cop come down and witness the scene. Making sure that the miners could hear, he said that he would cite the incident in a "lawsuit against the Mine Workers union."

Once he arrived the cop lent a deaf ear to the miner's description of Reynolds's provocative behavior, while taking pictures of the picket signs. He then asked whether the pickets were "aware that the UMWA no longer supports your deal here."

"We told him we appreciated his concern but that he was mistaken," said Julio Salas, who drives a mine buggy and is originally from Sinaloa, Mexico.

As the scene played out, Salas told *Militant* reporters how the fight had unfolded prior to C.W. Mining locking out the miners back on September 22. "The company had been trying to suspend a number of us to stop our efforts to defend our rights and to form a union," said Salas. "Leading up to that Monday they had interrogated people about our meetings, had tried to disrupt a meeting we organized outside the mine, and had threatened us with all kinds of things—including setting the immigration police on us."

The next step was the suspension of a worker named Oscar Sosa, said Salas, after they had "tried to suspend me the previous Friday. In both cases we got the company to either take us back or wipe out the suspension altogether."

"On the 22nd all the workers went to management. We tried to have a discussion with them to resolve what seemed to be clearly an attempt to fire William Estrada, a maintenance worker. We also had all kinds of other issues to discuss, including safety questions in the mine."

"But they opted for calling the Sheriff's Department," said Salas. "This guy was one of the ones who was there," he added, glancing at the Emery County deputy. "They basically threw us out of the mine after the cops told the company they would not have room to lock us all up if they arrested us."

The cops escorted the workers off the company property. "Rumor has it that many of the cops hang out together with some of the Kingston bosses at the local Karate club

in Huntington," said Salas.

In a statement released by the miners' outreach committee November 12, Jesús Salazar, a leader of the struggle, said, "We are approaching the ninth week of our labor dispute and we are determined and standing strong with the solidarity from labor and community organizations."

With the UMWA's assistance, the miners have turned the lockout into an Unfair Labor Practice Strike, and have filed charges with the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) to that effect. They are also seeking a ruling against the company union.

"The company is falsely claiming that the officers of their union are just leads, and are not our bosses," said William Estrada November 14. "But over the past week we have been working with the UMWA's legal department to provide the necessary ammunition to blast that lie out of the water."

"A good number of us have given testimony to the UMWA lawyers and to Mr. Daniel Robles, an NLRB agent, explaining how these supposed leads not only organize production, but suspend us, fire us, write our evaluations, give or take away raises, and in general never lift a finger to give us a hand on the job," he said.

The union has turned over evaluation slips signed by Estrada's crew foreman to the NLRB. "He is supposed to be the union president," Estrada said, "but neither he nor any of the 'union officers' have ever explained a single thing about a union to any worker. There isn't a single case where this 'union' has ever defended a worker from company attacks. If the NLRB does not rule against the company, it will be saying more about the role of that government agency than about the legal standing of the company union."

Step forward in solidarity work

The work to advance solidarity with the fight has taken a step forward over the past week, according to Francisco Picado, an underground coal miner from UMWA Local 1984 at the Deserado mine in Colorado.

"Supporters of the miners in Salt Lake City have decided to form a Co-Op Miners Solidarity Committee to coordinate their efforts to raise funds, build the miners' food bank, and organize a publicity campaign against the Kingston Clan," he said.

"The supporters have decided to advertise on KRCL Radio for donations to the food



Miners picket outside Co-Op mine in Huntington, Utah, November 11.

bank. Some building trades workers plan to make a truck available to bring the donations down to Huntington."

The solidarity committee will be having its first meeting on the evening of November 17 at the Communication Workers of America building at 396 E. Edison, Salt Lake City.

"In addition," said Picado, "four Paper, Allied-Industrial, Chemical and Energy Workers union locals in Salt Lake City, which have already raised close to \$2,000, are planning to come to the picket line on November 22 with food for Thanksgiving."

"Co-Op miners already have speaking dates in Gallup, New Mexico, organized by Sandy Jesus, president of the UMWA local at the McKinley Mine in the Navajo Nation, and there are other engagements in the works."

At the November 11 picket line, Larry Huestis, UMWA international representative, told the miners, "We will win this fight by holding together and with solidarity. The miners are standing strong and we are looking forward to decorating Christmas trees at the picket lines if that is what it takes."

Those wishing to help can make out checks or money orders to Co-Op Miners Relief Fund and send them to 525 So. 1st Street, Price, Utah 84501.

UMWA Supports Utah Miners' Struggle to Join Union

Convention delegates cheered as President Roberts vowed to assist coal miners recently fired from C.W. Mining Company's Co-Op mine in Huntington, Utah. The jobs of 74 miners—mostly from Mexico—were terminated after they protested the firing of one of their leaders for pursuing union representation.

A seven-member delegation of the Co-Op miners was saluted as honored guests at the convention. Their spokesman, Jesus H. Salazar Jr., described the workers' plight: earning between \$5.25 and \$7 per hour with "no health insurance and no benefits. We were unjustly fired for defending our rights and protesting unsafe working conditions."

"We stand with these workers in solidarity as they fight for justice and dignity," Roberts pledged. "We call on all American workers to support their struggle because 'an injury to one is an injury to all.'"

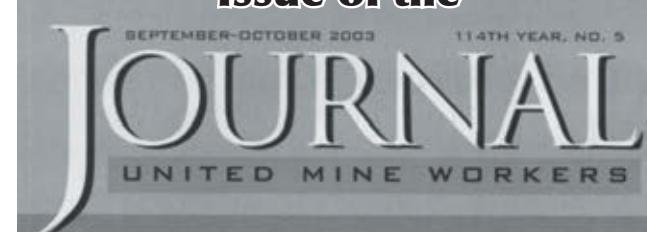
"We will fight until this mine becomes UMWA territory and we can end the exploitation we've endured," Salazar said. At press time, 75 percent of the mine's 83 hourly workers had signed a representation petition with the UMWA.

Workers struck the mine on Sept. 22 after Co-Op management suspended one of their co-workers; they were subsequently locked out. "We won't go back until we get everybody back to work," said fired miner Alyson Kennedy.

"It was heartwarming to see our union's overwhelming support of the miners' struggle," said District 22 IEB member Mike Dalpiaz.

Convention delegates contributed more than \$3,000 and pledged an additional \$2,000 to aid the Co-Op miners in their struggle for justice. **If you'd like to help, please send a contribution payable to the "Co-Op Miners Fund," to UMWA Region IV, 6525 W. 44th Ave., Wheat Ridge, CO 80033.**

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SPECIAL CONVENTION — DAY TWO

With the vote on restructuring completed, much of the convention's second day was devoted to tributes and remembrances. The first order of business, however, was to call seven displaced Latino coal miners from the Co-Op mine in Utah to the stage, where President Roberts offered them the UMWA's full support in their bid to gain union representation (see sidebar, this page).



London meeting celebrates 15 years of Pathfinder Books

BY PETE CLIFFORD

LONDON—"The Pathfinder bookshop is no ordinary shop; it seeks to pull together the history and lessons learned from many class-struggle events worldwide," said Connie Harris in a message to 65 participants at a November 15 meeting here to celebrate 15 years of Pathfinder Books in London. "Pathfinder publications are not just a good read but also a guide to action."

Jonathan Silberman, London Pathfinder Books representative and a leader of the Communist League in the United Kingdom (UK), chaired the meeting. He noted the special contribution made to building the communist movement by Connie and Alan Harris, who, for more than four decades, have worked on the circulation of Pathfinder books in this country and beyond.

The meeting was the high point of a Red Weekend of volunteer labor, organized by the Communist League and Young Socialists in the UK, to upgrade Pathfinder Books. The same facility also houses the League's national headquarters and its London branch. At the center of the weekend's work was reorganizing the bookstore in preparation for expanded hours and so that it can service commercial bookstores and libraries throughout the UK as well as the rest of Europe, Africa, the Middle East, and South Asia with Pathfinder books.

Silberman described how the London shop was established in 1988 shortly after the founding of the Communist League. "The shop is unique in this country, providing both Marxist classics and books on the class struggle and dynamics of world revolution today," Silberman said. "Since its opening thousands have visited the bookshop in search of such literature."

Visitors don't just come from the UK. Despite the weakening of British imperialism, its tentacles still have an international reach, especially in the empire's former colonies, and beyond. The resulting capital flows, trade, and travel extend Pathfinder's international reach too.

"Just last week two people visiting from Bolivia came to buy books," Silberman pointed out. "They knew where to come because the address of the shop has been listed in every Pathfinder book published since 1972," when Connie and Alan Harris first secured the premises, he said. For many years they mailed books from this address to stores all over the country. They also serviced Pathfinder accounts in many other countries. "In recent years Pathfinder contracted this service to a commercial distributor but now, consistent with our tradition, the servicing of the accounts will again be carried out from the bookstore."

Similar process in New York, Toronto

"Books sold from this shop introduce workers and revolutionary-minded youth to the communist program," said Norton Sandler, a member of the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party in the United States, and one of the speakers at the celebration. "It is through reading and studying the communist program that you can become 'a citizen of time,' begin to understand the contradictions and logic of the class struggle, learn the significance of the Russian Revolution and the Cuban Revolution, and internalize the necessity of building a revolutionary party."



Volunteers paint bookshop November 15

Sandler pointed to the importance not just of the long established location of Pathfinder Books at 47 The Cut, but also the accessibility of its central London position. The store is located within five minutes of Waterloo, a major rail station, which also houses the terminus for trains to Europe and several underground (subway) stations. Its store front is on a busy street that bustles with foot traffic throughout the day.

Sandler invited participants to join a similar Red Weekend in New York December 13–14 to begin construction on a new and expanded Pathfinder bookstore there in the same location as the national SWP headquarters and the offices of the *Militant* newspaper and its sister publication in Spanish, *Perspectiva Mundial*. "Our goal is to put together the first central bookstore in New York in three decades, and over time to have it become as well known as the London bookstore," he said.

Sandler described similar steps being taken now in Toronto, Canada. "These steps," he said, "are part of the effort to put the distribution of Pathfinder books at the heart of the activity of the communist movement. This activity is essential today, just as it will be when the class battles accelerate on a world scale."

The SWP leader said that "there has been a decline in the culture of Marxism in the working class compared to 30 years ago. You can see this by the fewer and fewer people today who argue about politics with Marxism as their reference point. This helps underscore the importance of the activity you are involved in now to expand the sales of Pathfinder titles."

Silberman then introduced Oscar de los Reyes, Political Counsellor at the Cuban Embassy in London, noting that the bookshop was founded the same year that Cuban army volunteers in Angola helped to deal a crushing blow at the battle of Cuito Cuanavale to the invading forces of South Africa's apartheid regime. This victory was described by African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela as a key turning point in the battle to overturn apartheid.

De los Reyes said he was one of the early internationalist volunteers from Cuba who went to Angola in 1976 to help defend the sovereignty of that country. This volunteer effort is continuing today with more than 1,500 Cuban doctors in Venezuela, he said. It is with this understanding of the place of volunteer labor, he stated, that the volunteers working on the bookshop here over the weekend "fill me with pride." De los Reyes pointed out that he had often spoken at events in the bookshop, which he described as "very dear to us." As long as people give up time to work for change, "then there's a chance for a better world," he said.

Anti-Americanism, national chauvinism

Another speaker was Joel Britton, who had been the SWP candidate for governor of California earlier this fall. Introducing Britton, Silberman remarked that the election success of Arnold Schwarzenegger had been a victory of the bipartisan war party in the United States. "There'll be big protests when George Bush comes to London next week," Silberman said, "but we should remember that London was and

remains central to this war. Today UK forces are occupying southern Iraq not because Anthony Blair is a puppet of Bush but because he's a representative of the British ruling class."

Britton said he would be proud to join members of the Communist League and Young Socialists in the coming days taking Pathfinder books and the *Militant* to the thousands in the streets—joining the protests. But he wouldn't be joining other protesters from the U.S., who, according to the London daily *The Independent*, will march under a banner reading, "Proud of my country, shamed



Militant/Jim Spaul

Speakers at event marking 15th anniversary of Pathfinder Books in London. From left, Joel Britton, Oscar de los Reyes, Aurora Shannon, and Jonathan Silberman.

by my president." This plays into the hands of the British-nationalist, anti-Bush theme of the rally, Britton said.

Most joining these actions, the SWP leader noted, are outraged about the war in Iraq and the imperialist occupation of that country. A conscious layer among the organizers is trying to keep the fire on Washington, while ignoring the Blair government's role in this imperialist assault. "They advance anti-Americanism and national chauvinism by pushing the 'Stop Bush' slogan of the protests," he stated.

"A good rule of thumb," said Britton, "is to start with directing your fire against your own rulers, and this is London's war as well as Washington's."

Communists at these protests will do what their counterparts in other countries do by advancing a program and course of

experience from a recent visit there. He appealed to participants to make solidarity with this struggle a top priority.

Another youth joining the platform was Aurora Shannon, a student who met the communist movement at a literature table in the period leading up to the Iraq war. "I began to read the *Militant* and attend Militant Labor Forums held weekly in the Pathfinder bookshop," Shannon said. "Then I read the article 'The Opening Guns of World War III,' by Jack Barnes in *New International* no. 7 and it clicked that it's imperialism, not individuals, that create such wars. Through further reading I also learned that it wasn't Britain that ended World War I, but the power of working people like those who made the 1917 Russian Revolution." Shannon described how this had helped her see it was a worthwhile to "change the direction of my life."

Upgrading bookshop

During the weekend some 40 volunteers joined the efforts to upgrade and reorganize the bookshop. Participants came from several cities in the United Kingdom, and Belgium, France, Greece, Iceland, Ireland, Sweden, and the United States.

Andreas Bergerhelm, a meat packer from Gothenburg, Sweden, was part of a team, including Alan Harris, that built shelving to store the books. "It was complicated but fun," he said.

Erik Wils from Belgium described how he checked a book consignment sent from Pathfinder in the United States and then packed orders for Pathfinder supporters in Scotland, France, Belgium, and Greece. The previous day, he said, "I went to five towns in the Lille area of northern France and one city in Belgium, gaining four orders from commercial shops for Pathfinder books."

Natasha Terlexis from Greece described a team she was on that prepared and painted the walls. "Since July 1," she said, "400 euros worth of Pathfinder publications have been sold in Greece from sales tables."

Silberman reported that the London shop had sold £5,500 (\$9,300) worth of Pathfinder books the last four months. "Currently the shop is open only weekday evenings and Saturdays," he said. "In the future, we will keep it open all day, as part of aiding the international effort to increase Pathfinder sales."

Silberman said these efforts have gotten a boost by Pathfinder obtaining the rights again to sell *My Life* by Leon Trotsky and *What is Surrealism?* by André Breton in the United Kingdom. Other publishers had distributed these books there for over two decades. Pathfinder sold the rights to publish and distribute these titles in the United Kingdom and British Commonwealth countries to these publishers in the 1970s, but they had let them go out of print for many years.

Speaking from the platform, Debbie Delange from Manchester described how an effort to promote Pathfinder books to commercial outlets in Ireland resulted in sales of more than 300 books.

At the conclusion of the Saturday program, Silberman reported that participants donated £3,000 (\$5,069). The funds will go towards expanding the bookstore stock to facilitate servicing commercial stores and libraries, he said. Silberman thanked those who prepared the delicious meal served before the event. The following day another £800 (\$1,350) was raised through a special book sale.



Militant/Jim Spaul

Participants in Red Weekend gather around table for discount book sale November 16.

action that can lead working people to take power out of the hands of the ruling class.

Britton noted that Queen Elizabeth Windsor, the UK head of state, and Australia's prime minister John Howard led a moment of silence November 11, known here as Remembrance Day, when the interimperialist slaughter came to an end on this day in 1918. They took the occasion to commemorate the deaths of 102,000 Australians who fought in the royal armed forces in World War I and subsequent wars. "This and other Remembrance Day activities here," said Britton, "were used to legitimize the United Kingdom's participation in the occupation of Iraq, Northern Ireland, the former Yugoslavia, Sierra Leone, and other countries."

Britton noted that the liberal media in the United States and the UK point to the problems Washington is having in Iraq and predict a change in U.S. policy there. "Never underestimate the imperialist enemy of humanity," the SWP leader said. "Pay more attention to the pronouncements of U.S. war secretary Donald Rumsfeld than the liberal media. The papers today quote Rumsfeld as saying that even with a new government in place in Baghdad U.S. forces might remain in Iraq for two years or more."

The work of the Communist League and its supporters through this bookshop and book service will help many in the United Kingdom and elsewhere get into the fight on an organized and conscious basis, Britton concluded. "Help any way you can!"

Britton, along with SWP and Young Socialists member Bill Schmitt, had just returned from meeting with members of the Communist League's organizing committee in Central Scotland. They were discussing building support among retired miners and other trade unionists there for the strike by coal miners at the Co-Op mine near Huntington, Utah. Schmitt described the stakes in this battle, drawing on his

What is ‘surplus labor,’ ‘surplus value’?

The following is an excerpt from *An Introduction to Marxist Economic Theory* by Ernest Mandel, one of Pathfinder's Books of the Month in November. This slim volume provides a concise introduction to the elementary principles of Marxist political economy. The portion below is taken from the first chapter, “The theory of value and surplus value.” The book is copyright © 1969 by Pathfinder Press. The selection that follows is reprinted by permission.

BY ERNEST MANDEL

As long as the productivity of labor remains at a level where one man can only produce enough for his own subsistence, social division does not take place and any social differentiation within society



Autoworkers at Honda plant in Jakarta, Indonesia, September 25. Mandel shows that surplus value is “uncompensated labor” that “the wage worker gives the capitalist class without receiving any value in exchange.”

is impossible. Under these conditions, all men are producers and they are all on the same economic level.

Every increase in the productivity of labor beyond this low point makes a small surplus possible, and once there is a surplus of products, once man's two hands can produce more than is needed for his own subsistence, then the conditions have been set for a struggle over how this surplus will be shared.

From this point on, the total output of a social group no longer consists solely

of labor necessary for the subsistence of the producers. Some of this labor output may now be used to release a section of society from having to work for its own subsistence.

Whenever this situation arises, a section of society can become a ruling class, whose outstanding characteristic is its emancipation from the need of working for its own subsistence.

Thereafter, the labor of the producers can be divided into two parts. A part of this labor continues to be used for the subsistence of the producers themselves and we call this part *necessary labor*; the other part is used to maintain the ruling class and we give it the name *surplus labor*.

Let us illustrate this by the very clear example of plantation slavery, as it existed in certain regions and periods of the Roman Empire, or as we find it in the West Indies and the islands of Portuguese Africa starting with the seventeenth century, on the great plantations which were established there. In these tropical areas, even the slave's food was generally not provided by the master; the slave had to produce this himself by working a tiny

plot of ground on Sundays and the products from this labor constituted his store of food. On six days of the week the slave worked on the plantation and received in return none of the products of his labor. This is the labor which creates a social surplus product, surrendered by the slave as soon as it is produced and belonging solely to the slave master.

The work week, which in this case is seven days, can be divided into two parts: the work of one day, Sunday, constitutes necessary labor, that labor which provides the products for the subsistence of the slave and his family; the work of the other six days is surplus labor and all of its products go to the master, are used for his sustenance and his enrichment as well.

The great domains of the early Middle Ages furnish us with another illustration. The land of these domains was divided into three parts: the communal lands consisting of forest, meadows, swamps, etc.; the land worked by the serf for his own and his family's subsistence; and finally, the land worked by the serf in order to maintain the feudal lord. The work week during this period was usually six days,

not seven. It was divided into two equal parts: the serf worked three days on the land from which the yield belonged to him; the other three days he worked on the feudal lord's land, without remuneration, supplying free labor to the ruling class.

The products of each of these two very different types of labor can be defined in different terms. When the producer is performing necessary labor, he is producing a *necessary product*. When he is performing surplus labor, he is producing a *social surplus product*.

Thus, social surplus product is that part of social production which is produced by the laboring class but appropriated by the ruling class, regardless of the form the social surplus product may assume, whether this be one of natural products, or commodities to be sold, or money.

Surplus-value is simply the monetary form of the social surplus product. When the ruling class appropriates the part of society's production previously defined as “surplus product” exclusively in the monetary form, then we use the term “surplus-value” instead of “surplus product.”

As we shall see later on, however, the above only constitutes a preliminary approach to the definition of surplus-value.

How does social surplus product come into existence? It arises as a consequence of a gratuitous appropriation, that is, an appropriation without compensation, by a ruling class of a part of the production of a producing class. When the slave worked six days a week on a plantation and the total product of his labor was taken by the master without any compensation to the slave, the origin of the social surplus product here is in the gratuitous labor, the uncompensated labor, supplied by the slave to the master. When the serf worked three days a week on the lord's land, the origin of this income, of this social surplus product, is also to be found in the uncompensated labor, the gratuitous labor, furnished by the serf.

We will see further on that the origin of capitalist surplus value, that is to say, the revenue of the bourgeois class in capitalist society, is exactly the same: it is uncompensated labor, gratuitous labor, which the proletarian, the wage worker, gives the capitalist without receiving any value in exchange.

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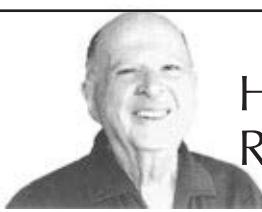
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Warms your heart—San Diego County park officials have



Harry
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taken special measures to aid those whose homes were destroyed in the recent Southern California firestorm. For these homeless, they

are waiving the two-week limit on camping. If need be, they will be allowed to sleep out until the end of the year. Moreover, their camping fee will be reduced to \$10 a day.

How about skate boards—Responding to a budget pinch, cops in Vail, Colorado, will sacrifice the use of Swedish Saab patrol cars and chug around in cheaper Ford Explorers.

Prompt, decisive action—
BABY FOOD ALARM—“A toxin linked to cancer was discovered in jars of baby food and popular

sauces. Manufacturers pledged to change the packaging.”—*The Times*, London.

Not surprising—According to a United Kingdom report, cancer rates are falling in England. But survival rates between rich and poor remain very unequal. Which reminded us, as a kid during the depression, Mom advised, “We really can’t afford to be poor.”

A few 4-martini lunches?—Private prison operators are pressing the Arizona legislature to outsource prison operations to them to solve

the overcrowding problem. Allegedly, the state prison system is short 4,000 beds and another 16,000 are needed immediately. The situation was due to be weighed in a special session of the state legislature.

Wonder which it will be—According to the Cedar Rapids University *Gazette*, the Iowa university system has paid out a bundle to cover medical care and leaves of absence for university workers injured on the job. School officials said they needed to prevent injuries and to get injured employees back on the job sooner.

Next New York, Chicago, L.A.?—A money crunch in Hydaberg, Alaska, led to the layoff of the four town employees—clerk, janitor, foreman, and water plant operator. Reportedly, they will continue as volunteers. The mayor will take a suspension in pay.

Thought for the week—“Buyers, even very rich ones, think that \$40 million, or more, is too much to ask for a house.”—*Forbes* magazine noting that its Most Expensive Homes list includes a good number that don’t get sold.

Cuban doctors played key role in Guinea-Bissau

Physicians were part of Cuba’s internationalist mission that aided independence struggle

Below are excerpts from *Conflicting Missions: Havana, Washington, and Africa, 1959–1976* by Piero Gleijeses. They are taken from sections of the chapter titled, “Guerrillas in Guinea-Bissau,” which tells the story of Cuba’s internationalist mission in Guinea-Bissau during its war for independence from Portugal, 1963–74. Last week the *Militant* printed excerpts from the same chapter focusing on Cuba’s military contribution to this colonial liberation struggle.

Amílcar Cabral, the leader of the African Party of Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde (PAIGC), led the struggle for national liberation in those Portuguese colonies. His half brother and close aide at the time, Luís Cabral, is quoted extensively in these excerpts.

Conflicting Missions is a compelling history of Cuban internationalist policy in Africa from 1959 to 1976 and its inevitable clash with Washington’s course of deepening intervention to back colonial rule and reinforce imperialist domination. Gleijeses backs his presentation with a range of original sources, including government archives in Cuba, Europe, and the United States, as well as interviews with government officials and leaders of independence struggles in Africa. The book’s extensive maps, illustrations, and notes make the material accessible to those unfamiliar with the period.

Conflicting Missions: Havana, Washington, and Africa, 1959–1976 by Piero Gleijeses is Copyright © 2002 by the University of North Carolina Press. Used by permission of the publisher and the author. <http://www.uncpress.unc.edu>.

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BY PIERO GLEIJESES

“The medical care of our combatants and of the people in the liberated zones reached a completely new level with the arrival of the first Cuban doctors in 1966,” Luís Cabral writes. There were no native doctors. “The colonial administration had trained some good nurses and nurses’ aides in Bissau, but being a nurse was quite a prominent position...so very few of them left their jobs in the colonial administration to join the freedom fighters.” Therefore the arrival of the Cuban doctors “was, without any doubt, of utmost importance for our struggle, not just because of the lives they saved, but even more because of the boost they gave us.” Once the Cubans came, explains Nino, the guerrillas “knew that their wounds need not be fatal and that their injuries could be healed.”

A veteran of the struggle against Batista, Luis Peraza, a doctor in the UM 1546, was

one of the first to go to Guinea-Bissau....

He left aboard the Lidia Doce in May 1966. “We didn’t bring any food with us because we expected to eat whatever the guerrillas ate. Once we got there we discovered that there was almost no food in the jungle; I lost forty pounds in three months.” His group included ten doctors but no nurses; the first nurses (all of whom were male) arrived in December 1967 with the second group of doctors. “Havana learned from our experience,” Peraza recalled. “They decided to send an equal number of doctors and nurses, working as a team, and to send food from Cuba.”

When heavy fighting was expected, the doctors accompanied the combatants. Otherwise they stayed behind in makeshift hospitals of two or three huts: one hut would be an operating room, the others were for patients. “Whether they were with our guerrilla units at the front, or in our field hospitals, the Cuban doctors...won the hearts of our fighters and our people,” Luís Cabral writes. “They taught our health care workers, who had received minimal training abroad, how to serve our people better. The Cuban doctors and nurses...fulfilled all our hopes....”

Throughout the war, all but one of the foreign doctors in the liberated zones of Guinea-Bissau were Cubans. The exception was a young Panamanian, Hugo Spadafora, who had become impressed with the PAIGC while living in Cairo and started to write to Amílcar Cabral volunteering his services. “He wrote so many letters that Amílcar finally decided to let him come,” PAIGC leader Fidelis Cabral recalled. “At that time we didn’t have any doctors.” Spadafora arrived in Conakry on February 10, 1966, and was sent to the village of Boké, in Guinea near the border with Guinea-Bissau, where the PAIGC had recently opened a hospital staffed only by a few nurses. “With my limited experience I had a hard time running the hospital,” Spadafora wrote. Within a few weeks, however, the first Cuban doctors arrived, bringing a “large supply of medicine, surgical and medical equipment, and supplies ... [and] the quality of the hospital’s care increased exponentially.” Spadafora left Boké in July for Guinea-Bissau, where he worked for nine months. In May 1967 he returned to Panama. “Had other foreign doctors volunteered to come to Guinea-Bissau, Amílcar would have allowed it,” Fidelis Cabral surmised. It is impossible to say, based on the available evidence, whether others did volunteer. What is certain, however, is that during the war Spadafora and the Cubans were the only foreign doctors in the liberated areas of Guinea-Bissau.

In Guinea, on the other hand, there were non-Cuban doctors at the two PAIGC hospitals in Boké and Koundara, a village near the border with Guinea-Bissau. At Boké, there were only Cubans until 1969, when a new, well-equipped hospital, built with Yugoslav money, became the flagship of the PAIGC medical services. Its staff included one or two Cuban doctors, one Yugoslav (Ivan Mihajlovic, a surgeon who was the hospital’s director), and three or four Yugoslav medical technicians. The smaller hospital at Koundara was staffed for several years by Dr. Binh, a Vietnamese professor from the University of Hanoi. “Only a great people like the Vietnamese would have offered us a doctor when they themselves were enduring one of the longest and cruellest wars,” Luís Cabral writes....



Cuban doctor Enrique Romero in makeshift hospital in Guinea-Bissau. All but one of foreign doctors in liberated zones during 1963–74 independence war were Cuban.

The PAIGC also had a small hospital in southern Senegal in the town of Ziguinchor, just ten miles north of the border. It was staffed by only one doctor, at various times Portuguese, French, Angolan, or Dutch. If a surgeon was needed, Luís Cabral writes, “the [Cuban] surgeon Mariano Sixto or another Cuban doctor would come across the

border at night.” This was tricky because the Dakar government barred all Cubans from entering Senegal. “I myself went to get them,” Luis Cabral continues, “and they accepted the risk of entering Senegal just like they accepted all the other risks of the war.... I would take them back to the border very early in the morning.”

—25 AND 50 YEARS AGO —

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December 1, 1978

No longer willing to endure the miserable and degrading conditions of life under capitalism imposed upon them by the shah’s despotic regime, the oppressed masses of Iran have entered the revolutionary road.

Within the last month a massive wave of strikes has engulfed the entire country. The working class is waging an economic battle for survival. In the heat of the class battles these strikes are assuming an increasingly political character. Demands of the striking workers include freedom for all political prisoners and an end to military rule. The proletariat is beginning to champion the democratic aspirations of all the oppressed, and to move toward the solution of the crisis imposed on Iranian society by the shah’s capitalist rule.

The bourgeoisie is scared and is engineering a massive flight of its capital—now reportedly to the tune of more than \$50 million a day!—in anticipation of its worst fears. The majority of the royal court have left the country and are in hiding in such places as Switzerland.

The degree of isolation of the monarchy is such that bourgeois politicians no longer dare to be identified with it. It finds no alternative but to resort, more and more, to military rule and imperialist support. This is bringing its downfall closer.

....Under the influence of the mass movement the army is becoming unreliable; there is open fraternization with the people.... The longer the shah hangs on to his cracking throne, the deeper becomes the participation of the working class in the revolutionary upsurge, and the graver becomes the crisis of the ruling class.

November 30, 1953

The American people are still suffering from shock—the shock of seeing an ex-President of the United States pilloried as “disloyal” by the head of the Justice Department. The feeling of being hit in the stomach is heightened by the fact that the victim happened to be America’s chief instigator of the witch hunt until he left office, the author of the “loyalty” oath, the “loyalty” purge, and the “subversive” list. If Truman himself can be smeared, who in this land can consider himself safe?

The witch-hunting charge made by Attorney General Brownell that Truman knowingly appointed to office an alleged spy, Harry Dexter White, had sensational repercussions—a nationwide TV and radio reply by Truman, a counter-blast by Brownell, and a fascist-like harangue by McCarthy over the major hook-ups.

But most sensational of all was a new development in American politics. The ominous growth in power of the witch hunters and the FBI suddenly became evident to millions in America.

This realization came from the unexpected sight of Truman himself caught in the web of the witch hunt. It was rammed home by the spectacle of J. Edgar Hoover, head of the FBI, disclosing what vast powers have fallen into his hands.

The head of the secret political police appeared briefly, almost casually, before a Congressional committee. The nation’s most authoritative legislators listened to his words Nov. 17 “as if they were gospel,” according to James Reston, Washington correspondent of the *N.Y. Times*.

Conflicting Missions:
Havana, Washington,
and Africa,
1959–1976

By Piero Gleijeses

Documents Cuba’s role in aiding the African national liberation struggles, from Algeria to Angola. \$24.95



Available from the University of North Carolina Press
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Solidarity with Utah miners!

The strike by coal miners in Utah to get their jobs back and organize into the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) has big stakes for the labor movement. The efforts of every worker and farmer and anyone else who believes in the rights of working people can make a difference by helping expand solidarity with the embattled miners.

If the Co-Op workers win, their success will give a boost to the entire UMWA and strengthen the hand of miners everywhere who are fighting for their livelihood and safety on the job. If the company prevails, the bosses will be able to step up their antiunion drive. Some 55 percent of the coal produced in the U.S. is mined west of the Mississippi, but only about a half-dozen mines in that region are union.

The Co-Op miners, most of whom were born in Mexico, are standing up for their rights in response to the brutal drive that the coal barons are waging nationwide to jack up their profits. On top of the regular exploitation through the system of wage slavery, these profits result from longer work hours, increased levels of coal dust miners breathe, refusal to pay black lung benefits, speed-up and other work rules that result in gratuitous deaths in the mines, disregard for the environment, and efforts to weaken or keep out the union. Miners around the country have engaged in struggles such as opposing efforts to loosen coal-dust rules, demanding federal black lung benefits for retired and disabled miners and their widows, and exposing the bosses' cover-up of last year's near-fatal mine disaster in Pennsylvania.

The 74 miners at Co-Op are fighting for decent wages, benefits, job safety, and dignity. Most of the workers there earn only \$5.25 to \$7 an hour and have no health insurance

or retirement benefits. They are forced to work under unsafe conditions in violation of federal mine regulations. The conditions at Co-Op were responsible for three deaths in the last half of the 1990s—half of the total coal mine deaths in the state. A UMWA statement notes that in September, as miners were taking steps to organize a union, they were fired en masse after they protested the arbitrary dismissal of one of their co-workers.

The mine owners, the Kingstons, are a capitalist family notorious in the region for their brutality against workers they employ in their \$150 million business empire. They are widely despised by working people for their abuse of women. For example, one of the directors of the Co-Op mine, John Kingston, was convicted for savagely beating his daughter who had fled a forced polygamous marriage to her uncle, David Kingston, who spent four years in jail for sexual abuse of the 16-year-old.

The UMWA is backing the fight by the Huntington miners, most of whom have signed a union representation petition (see coverage on page 6).

Solidarity can be won from other unions as well as from immigrant rights organizations, student and church groups, and many others. Collections for the miners and their families, messages of support, food drives, "Adopt-a-Family" campaigns, and distributing the miners' fact sheet and UMWA statements (see the union web site at www.umwa.org)—all such efforts can help bring needed support to the miners so they can win their fight.

Solidarity with our fighting brothers and sisters at the Co-Op mine!

Visas for relatives of Cuban Five

Washington has denied once again—for a fourth time!—visas to Olga Salanueva and Adriana Pérez to visit their husbands locked up in U.S. prisons. To add insult to injury, U.S. officials justified their action by labeling the two a threat to "national security." This outrage is a form of cruel and unusual punishment against these Cuban revolutionaries—René González and Gerardo Hernández—and their families. It calls for immediate protests demanding the State Department reverse the decision and grant the visas.

The U.S. government's action is a violation of elementary human rights for all five jailed Cuban revolutionaries and their relatives. But it is also an attack on the rights of all working people—on either side of prison walls.

Why is Washington doing this? The real "crime" of the Cuban Five was to defend their country in face of attacks that are part of the U.S. rulers' 44-year-long campaign of aggression against the Cuban Revolution. The five were gathering information on the activities of rightist groups with a record of violent attacks on Cuba, operating on U.S. territory with Washington's knowledge and complicity.

All five are examples of revolutionists who have devoted their lives to the worldwide fight for liberation from imperialist domination. Prior to taking on their mission in the United States, three of the five—including Hernández and González—served in Angola together with the 300,000 other Cuban volunteer combatants who battled shoulder-to-shoulder with Angolan freedom fighters and helped crush the invasion of that African country by the apartheid regime

of South Africa in the 1970s and '80s. The five have also set an example from behind prison walls, refusing to bend their knee to Uncle Sam. They have become part of the class struggle in the United States through political correspondence and circulation of literature among other inmates. At the same time, they have conducted themselves as "model prisoners," as their attorneys have explained.

The repeated denial of visas to these relatives of the five—and their draconian sentences and harsh treatment in prison—is dramatic proof of the hypocrisy of Washington's frequent claims that it stands for justice and humanity.

Another grotesque violation of human rights is the U.S. government's use of its naval base in Guantánamo—Cuban territory occupied against the will of the Cuban people—to jail indefinitely, without charges or rights, hundreds of men accused of "terrorism" and to subject them to barbaric conditions including torture. Partisans of the campaign to free the Cuban Five, and all other democratic-minded individuals, should seize the moment of the recent Supreme Court decision to hear the cases of 16 of the Guantánamo detainees in order to demand that all of the more than 600 people held there be released immediately.

Exposing these manifestations of imperialist brutality is part of winning support for the fight to free the Cuban Five. Solidarity helped get them out of the "hole" earlier this year. Solidarity can ensure they can see their families too.

Grant visas to the relatives of the five Cuban militants! Free the Cuban Five!

Washington denies visas to wives of Cuban 5

BY ARGIRIS MALAPANIS

As we go to press, the *Militant* has learned that once again the U.S. government has refused to grant visas to Olga Salanueva, the wife of René González, and Adriana Pérez, the wife of Gerardo Hernández, to allow them to come to the United States from Cuba to visit their husbands imprisoned in this country. This is the fourth time their visa request has been denied.

According to the November 18 online edition of the Cuban daily *Granma*, Salanueva and Pérez submitted visa applications to the U.S. Interests Section in Havana June 20. "More than four months after submitting these visa requests," said a Cuban foreign ministry statement posted on *Granma's* web site, "authorities at the U.S. Interests Section in Havana, informed us officially that both visas have been denied again."

According to this statement, Washington claimed that Salanueva and Pérez were a threat to "national security."

"With this new reprisal, the U.S. government is trying to break the revolutionary spirit of our imprisoned comrades and their spouses, imposing additional punishment that lacks any justification," the statement said. "Cuba's foreign ministry demands that U.S. authorities reconsider this arbitrary denial and, in accordance with international obligations and their own laws, allow Olga Salanueva Arango, her little daughter Ivette, and Adriana Pérez Oconor to exercise their inalienable right to visit their husbands and father unjustly jailed in U.S. prisons," it concluded.

González and Hernández are two of five Cuban revolutionaries framed up by the FBI and incarcerated since their arrests in 1998. The five men—Fernando González, René González, Antonio Guerrero, Gerardo Hernández, and Ramón Labañino—are serving draconian sentences after being convicted in June 2001 of frame-up charges brought by the U.S. government. The Cuban Five, as they

are known, had been carrying out an internationalist mission to gather information on ultrarightist organizations with a record of violent attacks on Cuba carried out from U.S. soil with Washington's complicity. They were arrested by FBI agents five years ago and charged with conspiracy to commit espionage and conspiracy to act as unregistered foreign agents. Hernández was also charged with conspiracy to commit murder. After their convictions, they were given sentences ranging from 15 years to a double life term, and sent to five federal prisons in different regions of the country.

On February 28 the five men were thrown into solitary confinement under an order by the Justice Department charging that the extensive solidarity they had received in the form of correspondence and the few visitors they were allowed made them a "national security risk." An international campaign of protests was launched against this unsuccessful attempt by Washington to break them. They were released from the "hole" a month later. They are now in the process of appealing their convictions and sentences.

The National Committee to Free the Five (www.freethefive.org), a San Francisco-based group coordinating the campaign in the United States to demand their release, launched an appeal in June, when Washington denied visas to Salanueva and Pérez for the third time, asking for protest letters to U.S. authorities demanding they grant visas to the families of René González and Gerardo Hernández. Such protest messages can once again be directed to Secretary of State Colin Powell, 2201 C St. NW, Washington, D.C. 20520, tel: (202) 647-4000, fax: (202) 261-8577; Homeland Security Director Thomas Ridge, Washington, D.C. 20528; and Attorney General John Ashcroft, 950 Pennsylvania Ave. NW, Washington, D.C. 20530-0001, tel: (202) 353-1555, e-mail: askdoj@usdoj.gov

Dean and the myth of the 'white worker'

BY SAM MANUEL

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Howard Dean recently told a Des Moines newspaper, "I still want to be the candidate for guys with Confederate flags in their pickup trucks." Dean is now the leading contender for the Democratic presidential nomination. Liberal dailies like the *Washington Post* and *New York Times* have editorialized that the remark is simply a sign of the former Vermont governor's lack of political savvy.

Others aim their fire at the hypocritical character of the attack by Dean's Democratic opponents. After all, each of them knows Dean has been making this remark about pickup trucks and Confederate flags—sometimes pickup trucks and gun racks—for nearly a year. He has said it on at least three occasions: to a reporter for the *Denver Post* in March, at a meeting of Blacks in Spartanburg, South Carolina, in February, and again that month at a meeting of the Democratic National Committee, where he got a standing ovation after making a similar point.

Prominent bourgeois figures who are Black, from Jesse Jackson to Colin Powell, have largely been silent or have

AS I SEE IT

dubbed the remark as a "wrong metaphor" while saying that Dean's basic point is right. And what is the point? Dean clarified his remark in a return engagement in Des Moines, telling students at a local high school that he had used the description to refer to working-class, white southerners who vote Republican. With recent gubernatorial losses to Republicans in California, Kentucky, and Mississippi, several prominent Democratic politicians have warned that the party is veering too far to the left.

This is another way of saying bourgeois politics in this country is shifting slowly to the right. Under the pressure of the world economic and social crisis, this trend will continue. Dean's remarks about the Confederate flag are an attempt to pitch his message in tune with this rightward shift, not to identify with "white southern workers."

The picture of the South emerging by implication from Dean's remarks is completely false. It is not true that most "whites," even in the South, sport Confederate flags on their vehicles. The massive battles for civil rights for Blacks in the 1950s and '60s substantially broke down the racial prejudices of millions throughout the country. They paved the way for common struggles by Blacks and others against racist discrimination and violence that have continued to this day. This has been particularly true in struggles for union recognition like the strikes by shipyard workers and others who formed United Steel Workers of America Local 8888 in Newport News in 1978. In 1987 some 20,000 protesters, many of them white, marched in Forsyth, Georgia, in response to a white supremacist rally there. And on Martin Luther King Jr. Day in January 2000 more than 50,000, again many of them white, marched in South Carolina to demand that the Confederate flag be removed from the state capitol building.

Dean's demagogic perpetuates the reactionary view that there is a section of our class that has some common interests, by virtue of light skin color, separate and apart from the interests of the toilers around the world. Any attempt by working people and youth to chart a course of action that makes any concession to the false notion of "whites" as a group only leads to subordinating the concrete fight to defend the most oppressed layers of our class to maintaining the relatively better-off status of more privileged layers, and feeds the ultraright. That is the logic of Dean's past comments that affirmative action should be based on class, not race. He might have added "not sex."

That course weakens the fighting unity of the class as a whole. Defense of affirmative action and abortion rights, and opposition to raids by *la migra* against immigrants and police violence against Blacks and Latinos are essential parts of any program that seeks to unite working people against the class of wealthy exploiters.

The capitalists use so-called racial differences only for the purpose of justifying oppression and superexploitation. It is a fiction, a form of mystification. In a speech published in the Pathfinder book *Malcolm X on Afro-American History*, the revolutionary leader challenged the pseudo-scientific classification of "races."

"And actually Caucasoid, Mongoloid, and Negroid—there's no such thing," Malcolm said. "These are so-called anthropological terms that were put together by anthropologists who were nothing but agents of the colonial powers, and they were purposely given that status...in order that they could come up with definitions that would justify the European domination over the Africans and the Asians."

What isn't a mystification is that human beings with dark skin and all people of color have been singled out by capitalism to be subjected to oppression and superexploitation. This common oppression of Blacks in the United States and their fight against it have forged a common consciousness as an oppressed nationality. That consciousness and the fight for Black rights is progressive. The gains won out of the struggle to eradicate this oppression benefit all working people. But there is no oppression of human beings based on light skin color. Most "whites" are workers or farmers and are exploited, not because of their skin color but because of their class. There is no oppressed white nationality. Any fight by working people that attempts to start from the so-called interests of "whites" as a group is reactionary.

'Militant' championed antiracist fight in wartime

Many articles, documents first published in newsweekly became pamphlets or books

Seventy-five years ago the *Militant* began publication in New York City. The first issue was dated Nov. 15, 1928. To mark this occasion, and to help the paper's distributors prepare events celebrating this historic anniversary (see listing below), the *Militant* launched this column five weeks ago.

The first two items were excerpts from the 1968 article, "A Short History of *The Militant*" by Joseph Hansen, a central leader of the Socialist Workers Party and the paper's editor at various times. In this article, Hansen explained that the editors aimed to maintain the *Militant* as "a fighting paper integrated with the supreme task of our times—to build a combat party of the working class in the tradition of Leninism."

One of the *Militant*'s contributions to the fight for socialism over three-quarters of a century has been the publication of articles or documents that later became pamphlets or books published by Pathfinder Press, or its predecessors, going back to the Russian Revolution of October 1917. This includes the first Pathfinder book ever published—*The Third International After Lenin* by Bolshevik leader Leon Trotsky.

As an illustration of this side of the *Militant* as the voice and organizer of the communist movement, we publish below the article "Roosevelt dead, Truman in." Outlining the pro-Jim Crow record of U.S. presidents Franklin Roosevelt and Harry Truman—both Democrats—the article first appeared in two installments in the May 12 and May 19, 1945, issues of the *Militant*. Roosevelt had died on April 12 of that year and was succeeded by Vice-president Harry Truman. The article was later published in the Pathfinder book *Fighting Racism in World War II* by C.L.R. James and others, which is a week-by-week account of the struggle against racism and discrimination in the United States from 1939 to 1945. All the material in this book is reprinted from the *Socialist Appeal* from 1939 to 1941 and the *Militant* after that, or from pamphlets issued by Pioneer Publishers, Pathfinder's predecessor. *Socialist Appeal* was the name

the *Militant* adopted between August 1937 and January 1941.



BY CHARLES JACKSON

Roosevelt, regardless of the lofty phrases that flowed from his silvery tongue, proved by his actions that he was 100 percent Jim Crow.

In mobilizing the armed forces for a purported war of "democracies against fascism" he refused to allow Negro and white Americans to be integrated into the same regiments. Jim Crow was thus toggled out in official army uniform. That was Roosevelt.

He often condemned the Nazi racist ideology, but could never find time to say one word against the widespread brutalities against and murders of dark-skinned American troops in the southern states of his own country. He spoke out against the lynching of a fascist by the irate Italian workers, but during his entire twelve years in office he completely ignored the dozens of lynchings of Negroes.

Almost every concession he made...was a token concession made—by strange coincidence—just before election time. The basic grievance of Jim Crow in the army was consistently ignored in his official utterances and in his Democratic Party platforms. The only major advance of the Negro masses under his regime was the FEPC [Fair Employment Practices Committee]—and that was granted only in a frantic move to avert a march of a hundred thousand Negroes on Washington. That was "our friend" Roosevelt.

According to all indications the forces of Jim Crowism, white supremacy, and second-class citizenship for the Negro will be greatly strengthened under "liberal" President Truman. His home is the state of Missouri, where colored farmers were recently driven off their land. Both his parents were proslavery. His close associates in the Senate and now in the presidency are anti-



Bolt machine operators at Erie, Pennsylvania, factory in 1943. The *Militant* championed Black workers' fight to break the color line in the plants in World War II.

Negro and antilabor reactionaries such as the South Carolinian, James F. Byrnes, who threatened to filibuster the antilynching bill "until the year 2 000 if necessary."

Although Truman has denied membership in the Ku Klux Klan, Michael Carter, who interviewed him for the April 21 *Afro-American*, states that he would be "at home on a cotton planter's veranda where the colored people...bow and scrap." When queried about the lack of a forceful plank on racial equality in the party platform he retorted, "Why shouldn't we conciliate the South?"

The *Nation* of April 21, 1945, quotes a 1940 speech before the National Colored Democratic Association. "Before I go further," said Truman, "I wish to make it clear that I am not appealing for social equality for the Negro. The Negro himself knows better than that, and the highest types of Negro leaders say frankly they prefer the society of their own people."

The plainest handwriting on the wall, however, is the fact that the Hearst press and other organs of the most rabid antilabor

and anti-Negro forces in America have taken Mr. Truman to their breast and acclaimed him as one of their own.

Lest we forget, Harry Truman, the new chief executive, is the same Truman who supports segregated schools in Missouri, who believes that Negroes should be physically thrown out of restaurants in his home town of Independence, and who stated that he has never invited a Negro to his home for dinner and never will.

He is even now laying the groundwork for anti-Negro attacks in which the fascist agents of big business will be whitewashed and the Negroes themselves blamed. This is proved by his statement quoted in the *Call* of April 23, 1945. "Negroes," said Truman, "are going too far in St. Louis. There Negroes have started a 'push day' once a week, when they shove white people out of bars. Why, St. Louis is sitting on a keg of dynamite. And they've got a 'push day' in Washington, too! I won't let my daughter go downtown on the streetcars on Thursday any more. It's not safe. They push white people off the streetcars."

CELEBRATE MILITANT'S 75TH ANNIVERSARY

Below is a list of the programs to celebrate the *Militant*'s 75th anniversary. Unless otherwise noted, the events will be held at the Pathfinder bookstore in each city: see the directory on page 8. A number of events were already held the November 15–16 weekend.

ALABAMA

Birmingham

Sunday, Nov. 23, Dinner 3:00 p.m. Program 4:00 p.m. Speakers: Brian Taylor, former *Militant* staff writer; Ezekial Hameen, longtime *Militant* reader; Cristian Juarez, *Perspectiva Mundial* reader; Susan Lamont, Socialist Workers Party

CALIFORNIA

San Francisco

Saturday, Nov. 22, Program 7:00 p.m. reception to follow Speakers: Dennis Richter, Mark Gilsdorf, Emily Paul.

FLORIDA

Miami

Saturday, Nov. 22, Dinner 5:00 p.m. Program 6:00 p.m. Speakers: Seth Galinsky, former *Militant* staff writer in Nicaragua; Nicole Sarmiento, Young Socialists, participant in Third Cuba-U.S. Youth Exchange.

Tampa

Saturday, Dec. 6, 7:30 p.m. Speakers: Karl Butts and Rachele Fruit, Socialist Workers Party; Francis Sesler, plaintiff in class-action lawsuit by Black farmers against USDA; Rudolfo Valentín, Carpenters Union member.

GEORGIA

Atlanta

Saturday Nov. 22, 7:00 p.m. Speakers: James Harris, SWP National Committee, former staff writer for the *Militant*; Willie

Cotton, Young Socialists

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston

Sunday Nov. 23, 2:00 p.m. Speaker: Laura Garza.

NEBRASKA

Omaha

Friday, Nov. 21, 6:30 p.m. SOMA building, 'R' Street between South 31st and 30th Streets. Speakers: Lisa Rottach, member of UFCW local 271, correspondent for the *Militant*.

NEW JERSEY

Newark

Saturday, Nov. 22, Dinner 6:00 p.m., Program 7:30 p.m. Chair: Patrick O'Neill, staff writer for the *Militant*; Speaker: Paul Mailhot, member of Socialist Workers Party, former *Militant* staff writer

NEW YORK

Manhattan

Friday, Nov. 21, Dinner 6:30 p.m., Program 7:30 p.m. Chaired by Argiris Malapanis, editor of the *Militant*. Speakers: Martin Koppel, editor of *Perspectiva Mundial*; Stu Singer, former *Militant* staff writer; Olga Rodriguez, Socialist Workers Party; Iris Baez, fighter against police brutality; Naomi Craine, former *Militant* editor

OHIO

Cleveland

Friday, Nov. 21, Dinner 6:30 p.m., Program 7:30 p.m. Speakers: Helen Meyers, Socialist Workers Party; and Romina Green, has reported for the *Militant* on Argentina

PENNSYLVANIA

Philadelphia

Friday, Dec. 5, 7:30 p.m. Speakers: John

Staggs, John Studer, Hilda Cuzco.

Northeast Pennsylvania

Saturday, Dec. 6, Dinner 6:00 p.m., Program 7:00 p.m. Speakers to be announced

TEXAS

Houston

Saturday, Nov. 22, Buffet 5:00 p.m., Program 6:30 p.m. Speakers: Henry Cooper, KPFT radio and leader of Latinos por la paz; Tom Leonard, active in building the SWP for the past half century; Anthony Dutrow, 2003 SWP candidate for Houston mayor; Brian Williams, former *Militant* staff writer; Tom Kleven, Texas Southern University professor and longtime defender of the Cuban Revolution; Robin Maisel; *Militant* reporter/participant in Vietnam antiwar movement; Jason Wattley; recent *Militant* subscriber.

WASHINGTON

Seattle

Friday, Nov. 21, Program 7:30 p.m. Speaker: Chris Hoeppner.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Saturday, Nov. 22, Dinner 6:30 p.m., Program 7:30 p.m. Speakers: Sam Manuel, Washington, D.C., *Militant* Bureau Chief, Janice Lynn and John Hawkins, former *Militant* staff writers

AUSTRALIA

Sydney

Friday, November 28, 7:00 p.m. Speakers: Joanne Kuniansky, Communist League; Bob Aiken, participant in *Militant* reporting trips to Indonesia and Papua New Guinea; Peter Weitzel, president of Australia-Cuba Friendship Society in Sydney; Christian Bava, student activist and *Perspectiva Mundial* subscriber

LETTERS

'War on Terrorism'

The recent article "U.S. gov't makes gains in 'war on terrorism'" [November 10 *Militant*, no. 39] I think left out a clear reason for this "war on terrorism." We are bombarded daily with the phrase. Why is the U.S. spending huge material and human resources to occupy Iraq and Afghanistan?

Second, I would like more coverage of the occupation and the response of those fighting against it.

Richard Young
Chicago, Illinois

RMI Titanium strike

I was wondering if your paper has heard about a strike at RMI Titanium in Niles, Ohio. I would like to know how a company can get fined 105K range from OSHA violations and yet when it comes to the company helping its bread and butter, the workers, it fails. Who is running this rinky-dink outfit anyway. I'm about fed up with the corporate structure screwing the exact people that give them their bonuses and the mansions and expensive cars they drive. Now, you can mark my words, that this will be just like the last strike when they bring in scabs and tear a town apart. I worked up there in that area and was a USWA member over 20 years ago and it's the same old bunk. I am about ready to take a drive and join these men and women in their fight against what I call company corruption.

William Wolfscale
by e-mail

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of interest to working people.

Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.

Iceland dam workers fight for dignity

BY ÓLÖF ANDRA PROPPÉ

EGILSTADIR, Iceland—On the last weekend of October a team of *Militant* reporters visited the Kárahnjúkar Power Station Project to talk to workers engaged in a labor rights struggle that has drawn attention from working people across the country.

Two weeks earlier the workers at the dam construction project, native- and foreign-born, had won the right for all to join Icelandic unions and be covered by the contracts they negotiate. “It has to be said that the situation has improved” following this victory, said Thorgeir Hauksson, 50, an Iceland-born bulldozer operator. “There was a shift when they [the company] were forced to reveal the salaries of the Romanians.”

Hauksson was referring to the September 14 attempt by the Edersiter company, which works under the Impregilo construction company, the main contractor, to falsely inflate the earnings paid to workers from Romania. Facing pressure from the workers and the unions to improve wages and conditions, the company drew up and attempted to publicize bogus documents listing wages that were higher than it actually pays. The scheme backfired when some of the workers objected.



Militant photos by Ögmundur Jónsson
Above, Thorgeir Hauksson (center) and Einar Már Thorgeirsson (left) speak to *Militant* reporters Olöf Andra Proppé and Sigurlaug Gunnlaugsdóttir (far right) October 25 at Kárahnjúkar Power Station Project, inset, where workers constructing a dam across the Jökulsá á Brú river are fighting for union rights.

Hauksson described the workers’ ongoing fight for tolerable conditions. He had been among a group of workers asked to work nightshift, clearing soil from the mountainside, he said. “It was two of us

from Iceland and several Portuguese workers who had been doing it for a while. We were expecting to get food at midnight and by midnight someone brought two cheese sandwiches to each of us—dry!”

The workers got hold of a sleeping boss, and he took the two Icelandic workers down to the dining hall. “There was no food there,” Hauksson said, “but we stayed there for our 45 minutes before we went back to work. The boss told us that we would have two food trays waiting for us in the hall the next night. But we said that there had to be food for everyone. Three days later there were food trays for all of us. We would of course not have eaten if the others had not gotten food.”

“I would not have believed four months ago that we would be using the methods we have been using,” Hauksson said. He mentioned that his son, Einar Már Thorgeirsson, 23, who drives a truck, has started to carry a digital camera at work in order to document the bosses’ degrading treatment of the workers. He said he had seen a boss physically drag a Portuguese worker out of the machine he was operating.

The company tries to keep the different nationalities separated. Only Icelandic workers occupy the sleeping barracks that we visited. Portuguese workers are in another set of barracks, Romanians in still another, and so on. There are no facilities of any kind to socialize in after work, so workers meet in each other’s bedrooms, in which there is room for just a bed, a closet, and a small desk—or a second bed.

Pouring into the barracks from work at 6:00 p.m., workers said that the bosses had undermined the terms of the contract for the construction site. They had taken out extra pay for working far away in the highlands or very rural areas for a longer period, for example. The employers claimed that they had incorporated this into the regular pay scale, but there is no sign of it.

The employers are also taking advantage of holes in the contract, the workers said. While the agreement states that each worker should have their own bedroom, it allows the bosses to cram two workers into each room during the short summer or if they are there on a short-term basis. They have got away with doubling up the workers from Portugal because they are officially temporary.

We asked the workers what they thought was significant about the right to join the unions. “It must be so, there is no other way in society,” replied Hauksson.

He discussed the possibilities the workers have to improve the tough conditions. Official government and legal channels are loaded against the workers, he said, citing the problem of the crowded, unsanitary dining rooms. “The health representative of the region is frequently criticized, but what can she do?” he said. “She does not have the authority to close the dining facility even though it is unacceptable; she can only write letters and then it takes forever.”

As the correspondents left the worksite and barracks site at 600 meters above sea level, it was 7:00 p.m. and already dark, with snow on the ground and a freezing wind.

New Zealand: protests force release from ‘hole’ of Algerian jailed as ‘security risk’

BY JANET ROTH

AUCKLAND, New Zealand—Ahmed Zaoui, a citizen of Algeria seeking asylum in this country, was transferred to the medium security Auckland Central Remand Prison October 16. He had served 10 months in solitary confinement at Auckland’s maximum security jail at Paremoremo.

The transfer follows widespread publicity about Zaoui’s case and growing calls for his release. A 180-strong protest meeting in his defense was held in Auckland September 17. Supporters mounted a 24-hour vigil outside the prison October 24.

Although the Refugee Status Appeals Authority, a government body, granted Zaoui asylum in August, he continues to be imprisoned under a Security Risk Certificate. This is the first use of such a document, created by 1999 legislation that increased the powers of the immigration police. The certificates allow the detention and deportation of immigrants based on secret evidence. Government officials claim that Zaoui poses a possible “threat to national security.”

Zaoui was elected to Algeria’s parliament in 1991 as a member of the Islamic Salvation Front (FIS) until the Algerian military staged a coup and his party was outlawed. Officials in New Zealand have attempted to link him to the Islamic Armed Group (GIA), a split-off from the armed wing of the FIS that they brand “terrorist.”

Detained in December 2002, Zaoui was placed in solitary confinement on the basis of a “threat assessment” by the police. It was subsequently revealed that the cops used the website of Lyndon LaRouche, an ultrarightist based in the United States, as one of the key sources for this assessment.

Government ministers have refused to back up their accusations against him, citing the “classified” nature of the evidence. “I have been put in a terrible position because I can’t actually respond to all of the allegations [of unjust imprisonment],” said immigration minister Lianne Dalziel, quoted in the November 2 *New Zealand Herald*. “If we as a country do not treat classified security information confidentially we simply won’t receive it.”

Several months ago the government ordered the Inspector-General of Security and Intelligence, retired judge Laurie Greig, to review the materials in the Security Risk Certificate before making a decision on whether to deport Zaoui or release him.

The *Herald* reported that “Greig has said he will not take human rights into consideration in his review,” and will also not reveal the secret allegations made against Zaoui by the Security Intelligence Service.

Zaoui’s lawyers are challenging these rulings in the High Court. Turning reality on its head, Dalziel blamed their legal challenges for Zaoui’s continued imprisonment.

Meanwhile, the Labour Party government of Prime Minister Helen Clark has taken other demonstrative steps against workers’ rights in its own “war on terrorism.”

With the opposition of only the Green Party, parliament passed the Counter Terrorism Act October 22. The legislation creates new criminal offenses and gives police greater official powers, including the go-ahead to use tracking devices more broadly. Police officers with a search warrant can now require people to provide access to their computers, including their personal passwords. Materials collected under a warrant issued for one offense can, for the first time, be used in court as evidence for a different charge.

Justice minister Philip Goff admitted these measures were not just intended for “terrorist” activities but for broader use. “The sorts of things the terrorists do and the powers needed to track down terrorists

are the same powers needed to deal with other forms of serious criminal activity,” he said, according to an October 22 New Zealand Press Association report.

On November 7, Porirua school teacher Paul Hopkinson was convicted on a charge of desecrating the New Zealand flag following a protest in March against the war on Iraq at which a flag was burned. Hopkinson was charged under a little-known 1981 law and is the first person to be convicted here of such an offense.

Clark made an official visit to the Middle East beginning late October. The prime minister visited New Zealand troops in Afghanistan and an engineering unit of the New Zealand Army in Iraq, which serves under the command of British officers. Clark dressed in army fatigues for her speech to the troops. In a media statement, she saluted the soldiers’ work in the “high-threat Basra environment.”

One month earlier the prime minister had farewelled the 61-strong force at the Ohakea airbase, near the town of Bulls in the North Island. She emphasized that they would be involved in “reconstruction-humanitarian work,” in contrast to the “law and order stabilization work” undertaken by U.S. troops. According to the *Herald*, she also noted that they would be “armed, and permitted to defend themselves.”

Iowa meeting

BY MARY MARTIN

DES MOINES, Iowa—“We are here to commemorate the deaths of the leaders of the Ogoni people in Nigeria and to urge people to continue the struggle internationally as well as in the United States,” said Nwinede Williamson at a public meeting here on November 9.

The Ogoni people are one of the nationalities living in the oil-rich Niger Delta region of Nigeria. For decades they have struggled against the exploitation by Royal Dutch Shell and other giant oil companies in the region, which is known as Ogoniland.

Williamson, who is the administrative secretary of the Movement for the Survival of the Ogoni People (MOSOP), welcomed some two dozen people to the meeting. “Today Ogoni people and supporters are meeting in several countries, as well as in

U.S. cities, including Atlanta, Chicago, and here in Des Moines,” he said.

The meetings were organized by MOSOP and the National Union of Ogoni Students, USA. They marked the eighth anniversary of the execution of Ken Saro-Wiwa and eight other MOSOP leaders by the Nigerian government.

The organizers showed *Delta Force*, a 1994 documentary by a British television crew depicting the Ogoni struggle. It shows how Shell’s operations were marked by lack of maintenance on its above-ground pipelines, resulting in widespread pollution of farming areas and fishing waters, including devastating oil spills. Ogoni protests were met by fierce repression by the Nigerian government. Shell extracted oil from Ogoniland from 1958 into the mid-1990s, gaining revenues estimated to be over \$30 billion. The Ogoni people have

never received any compensation for the use and destruction of their lands.

MOSOP president Ken Saro-Wiwa and the other leaders were arrested, tried by a Nigerian military tribunal, and executed in 1995, as they were helping lead the Ogoni struggle.

During the discussion period, Moses Kiobel, whose brother Barinem Kiobel was one of the nine leaders executed, told the audience: “I am very happy that we have come here today as a group to make sure that our leaders did not die in vain, and I ask everyone to not give up the fight. We need to be meeting more frequently now in order to advance our struggle.” The meeting concluded with the singing of traditional Ogoni songs and a reading of Saro-Wiwa’s last statement. Ogoni students are planning to hold a demonstration in Atlanta, Georgia.